This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

RIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANF
ORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVER
TANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
NIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSIT
BRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
SITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRAR
RIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STAN
ORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVER
TANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
NIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSIT
BRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
SITY LIB NFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRAR
ARIES · STAN

UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STA
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNI
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIB
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSIT
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFOR
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STA
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNI
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIB
STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSIT

Our Aim: To Study Prehistoric Sciences, Wisconsin Antiquities.

Vol. 6. OCTOBER, 1906, to JANUARY, 1907. No.

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

And Transactions of the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Published by Authority of Law.

By the Wisconsin Archeological Society, Hawkins, Wis.

THE FIELD ASSEMBLY
AT
CARROLL COLLEGE
Archaeological Materials from Wisconsin

MADISON, WIS.
Hawkins Publishing Co., Stock Printers.
1906.

DR. WILBUR O. CARRIER.
President, Carroll College.

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

And Transactions of the Wisconsin Archeological Society

Volume 6, Number 1

October, 1906, to January, 1907

ILLUSTRATED

Issued by the Wisconsin Archeological Society
Milwaukee, Wis.
Charles E. Brown, Secretary and Curator

Published by Authority of Law

MADISON, WIS.
DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTER
1906

Wisconsin Archeological Society

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Incorporated March 23, 1903, for the purpose of advancing the study and preservation of Wisconsin antiquities.

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT

Geo. A. West

VICE-PRESIDENTS

Rolland L. Porter H. A. Crosby P. V. Lawson
W. K. Flint A. B. Stout

DIRECTORS

W. H. Ellsworth O. J. Habhegger

TREASURER

L. R. Whitney

SECRETARY AND CURATOR

Charles E. Brown

COMMITTEES

SURVEY, RESEARCH AND RECORD

J. G. Albright Dr. Louis Falge Dr. G. L. Collie
Julia A. Lapham Dr. A. Gerend G. H. Squier
Dr. W. G. McLachlan Rev. S. T. Kidder Dr. Albert Salisbury

MEMBERSHIP

O. J. Habhegger Mrs. Jas. S. Peck Chas. Bodenbach
Fanny Schmellenmeyer O. T. Lahman J. W. Evans
W. H. Elkey Rev. B. G. Traudt

COLLECTIONS

Dr. F. A. Traver Harriet B. Merrill Dr. W. O. Carrier
Rev. Wm. Metzdorf Jno. Gerend J. P. Schumacher
Jos. Ringeisen, Jr. Dr. H. H. Schlaeger

PRESS

Ellis B. Usher Belle Blend H. E. Cole C. H. Ellsworth

SESSIONS

These are held in the Lecture Room in the Library-Museum Building, in Milwaukee, on the third Monday of each month, at 8 P. M.

During the months of July to October no meetings will be held.

MEMBERSHIP FEES

Life Members, $25.00. Members, $1.00 per Annum.

All communications in regard to the Archeological Society or to the "Wisconsin Archeologist" should be addressed to C. E. Brown, Secretary and Curator, Office. 1214 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Vol. 6, No. 1.

Page.

The Field Assembly of the Wisconsin Archeological Society at Carroll College. Charles E. Brown 1

Archaeological Materials from Wisconsin in the American Museum of Natural History, New York, N. Y.....Harlan I. Smith..... 20

The Desired Purchase and Preservation of the Celebrated Man Mound. Charles E. Brown. 45

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

Dr. Wilbur O. Carrier, President of Carroll College.....Frontispiece

Plate .....Facing Page.

1. Voorhees Hall, Carroll College 1
2. Oval mound in the college grove 2
3. Dr. Geo. L. Collie, Acting President of Beloit College 6
4. Unveiling of the Cutler Mound tablet.....10
5. Rankin Science Hall, Carroll College 14
6. Ceremonial axe, Ringeisen collection.....16
7. Voorhees Hall, linear mounds in the foreground 18
8. Copper axes and chisels.....24
9. Copper bracelets and crescents 32
10. Copper spuds 40

Plate 1.

VOORHEES HALL, CARROLL COLLEGE.

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

A Quarterly Bulletin Published by the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Vol. 6. MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCT., 1906, to JAN., 1907. No. 1.

THE FIELD ASSEMBLY OF THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGICAL SOCIETY AT CARROLL COLLEGE.

CHARLES E. BROWN, *Secretary and Curator.*

At the annual meeting of the Wisconsin Archeological Society held on March 19, 1906, Secretary Brown formally announced to the assembled members the courteous invitation of Dr. Wilbur O. Carrier, President of Carroll College, to hold a field assembly at Waukesha during the ensuing months. This proposal was favored by the Society and regularly accepted at the succeeding meeting of its officers. Shortly thereafter, President Geo. A. West appointed a committe consisting of Mr. Rolland L. Porter, Mr. Wyman K. Flint, Miss Julia A. Lapham and Secretary Brown to make the necessary arrangements. Several conferences between Dr. W. O. Carrier and Dr. W. L. Rankin and the Committee were held and plans for the assembly perfected. May 26 was chosen as the most convenient date. Conferences were also held with Mrs. W. H. Anderson and Mrs. H. M. Buck, president and secretary respectively of the Waukesha Women's Club, that organization having decided to add additional interest to the program by the erection of a bronze tablet on the site of the largest of the several fine conical mounds preserved in Cutler Park.

A meeting of the Collections Committee of the Society was also called and the installation of a special and instructive exhibit of Wisconsin materials considered.

Early in the month of May, all arrangements having been completed, invitations to attend the assembly were extended by the Society to its members and friends in all parts of Wisconsin and in adjoining and distant states. Also to the officers and clubs of the Wisconsin Federation, to the Wisconsin Historical Society, Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, county historical societies and to various educational institutions and state and municipal officers. Other invitations were also extended by Carroll College and by the Waukesha Women's Club. Through the efforts of Mr. E. B. Usher and of the Press Committee and the kind interest of the local and state papers, the program and purpose of the assembly were made known in all parts of Wisconsin.

The Assembly.

The morning of May 26, which will be long remembered as the date of the first Wisconsin archaeological assembly, dawned cold and rainy but did not in any wise dampen the ardor of the many who attended. It had been decided to convene the morning session in the pretty grove on the college campus but the weather conditions compelled a change of these plans.

The on-coming members and guests were met at the depots and car lines by college students and conducted to the grounds, where they were received in Voorhees Hall by Dr. Wilbur O. Carrier, Dr. Walter L. Rankin, Prof. Ernest G. Ehlman and other members of the college faculty, and officers of the Society. Badges in the Carroll colors were there presented to all.

All assembled in the museum hall, where were instructively displayed in table and wall cases the archaeological collections of the college and the various special exhibits made by members of the society. The latter were in charge of Dr. F. A Traver, Mr. Joseph Ringeisen, Jr., Dr. H. H. Schlaeger and Curator Brown. The Ringeisen collection, kindly loaned by its owner for this occasion and consisting of several thousand aboriginal implements and ornaments in clay, stone, bone and metal, attracted special attention. A huge stone celt in this collection, weighing forty pounds and measuring two feet in length, proved an object of great interest to all. An exhibit of native copper, stone and hematite implements exhibited by Mr. W. H. Elkey included unusually large copper chisels and

Plate 2.

OVAL MOUND IN THE COLLEGE GROVE.

pikes and other rare pieces. A very valuable series of Wisconsin quartzite, chalcedony and rock crystal knives and points was also shown. A fine bird ceremonial exhibited by Mr. C. E. Wood, a barbed axe exhibited by Mr. O. T. Lahman and a series of flint scrapers shown by Mr. R. L. Porter, were among the other objects of interest. On the case tops and walls were shown a selected extensive series of photographs of Wisconsin earthworks and implements, of archaeologic maps and diagrams.

The Addresses.

At eleven o'clock, the members and guests adjourned to the assembly hall, which had been tastefully decorated for the occasion by the young ladies and gentlemen of the college. After being formally introduced to the assemblage by President West, Dr. Wilbur O. Carrier warmly welcomed the Wisconsin Society and its friends to Carroll College. He regarded it as a great honor that the Society should have selected Carroll as the place of its state assembly, and hoped that the program now to be presented within its walls by certain of its prominent members might be the means of kindling there and throughout the state an even greater and more helpful interest in its progressive and valuable work in encouraging the preservation and making known the educational value of Wisconsin's prehistroic monuments and other remains. Carroll College was proud indeed to now participate with other Wisconsin institutions of learning in the advancement of this movement.

He also directed the attention of those present to the new era of growth and usefulness upon which Carroll College had entered and which had been made possible by the recent most generous gift to the institution of the sum of $100,000.00 by a generous benefactor and friend, Mr. Ralph Voorhees of Clinton, N. J. As a result of this liberal contribution to its funds three additional college buildings were now in course of construction upon the grounds. One of these fine structures, Walter L. Rankin Science Hall, he hoped might become the repository of much of the valuable archaeological material still remaining in Waukesha county and in various parts of the state. He gave the assurance that such specimens or collections as might be presented to the college or otherwise come

into its possession would be most carefully guarded and be there forever accessible to students and the public. A thoroughly representative collection of this kind would be of great value to the College. The nucleus for such a collection already existed. With the arrival of an expected addition to its faculty some instruction in Wisconsin history and archaeology would be offered and a greater local interest in the science created.

He invited the guests to make a thorough inspection of the College, its new buildings and of the valuable group of effigy and other mounds preserved on its grounds. The latter he promised should always be carefully protected.

In responding to this cordial welcome, President Geo. A. West stated that it afforded the Wisconsin Archeological Society the greatest of pleasure to be able to thus convene at Carroll College on this memorable occasion the first state assembly of Wisconsin archaeologists ever held within the bounds of the state.

He wished to express to Dr. Wilbur O. Carrier, Dr. Walter L. Rankin and to the other officers, and students of Carroll College, the Society's great appreciation of their kind invitation and for the active interest manifested by them in the success of the convention.

He expressed the Society's pleasure at the presence at this gathering, despite the poor weather, of so large an attendance of members and friends from various cities and towns of the state. He briefly reviewed the history of the organization and discussed its future work and plans. It was a pleasure to note that following its lead other organizations in various parts of the state had taken hold of somewhat similar work. Nearly all of the larger Wisconsin educational institutions were also becoming interested and he felt that there was in store for the Wisconsin movement a bright and successful future. It was to be hoped that similar movements might be started in neighboring states.

Brief informal addresses were made by Vice President Rolland L. Porter and Miss Julia A. Lapham. Mr. Porter said that he regarded the day as the birthday of archaeology in Waukesha County. He expressed his gratification at the practical interest in the subject shown by the officers and members of the Waukesha Women's Club and hoped that the interest

in the preservation of Wisconsin's ancient monuments would become general. He desired that a special effort be made to secure the safety of the Waukesha mounds and relics.

Miss Lapham, who is the chairman of the Landmarks Committee of the Wisconsin Federation of Women's Clubs, told of the excellent work already accomplished by the clubs of the state in this direction. They had secured considerable, as yet unpublished, historical data; had offered prizes to school children for the best essays on historical subjects; called the attention of the authorities of the University of Wisconsin to their negligence in not properly protecting two fine effigy mounds on the campus; secured the preservation of an intaglio near Fort Atkinson and in many other ways assisted the Wisconsin Society to spread a knowledge of the value and urgent need of the preservation of the state's antiquities.

Miss Lapham, whose great interest and activity is well known, had herself addressed the women's clubs in various parts of the state, on these and allied subjects.

Dr. Geo. L. Collie, Acting President of Beloit College, who was to have spoken during the afternoon session, was, at his own request, permitted to address the morning meeting instead. His interesting address is here printed in full. In it he has taken pains to point out the poverty in the matter of representative collections of archaeological materials, of the leading educational institutions of the state. Some other institutions not mentioned by him, notably, Concordia College at Milwaukee, Northwestern University and Sacred Heart College at Watertown and others have been equally backward in not taking advantage of their opportunities to assemble useful collections. All are located in regions where such collections might at one time been secured with the expenditure of a very small sum of money or through the prosecution of a small amount of intelligent field work.

The need of the establishment of full or partial courses in American archaeology at these institutions was urged.

THE RELATIONSHIP OF WISCONSIN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION TO ARCHAEOLOGY.

ADDRESS BY DR. GEO. L. COLLIE.

I need not say to this audience that Wisconsin was a great center of population and industry in pre-historic times. Its monuments are famous among men, its relics in stone and metal have been found literally by the ton. No state possesses such a variety of mounds, varied in form and in purpose. Here if anywhere some of the important questions relating to these early peoples might have been settled and may yet be settled. Of the thousands of mounds once existing here many have been lost and their important story left a blank. The relics found in such great numbers have been scattered to the four ends of the earth. We owe everything to pioneer workers like Lapham who rescued so much for us and preserved it in their writings. We owe much to modern workers who are doing so much to rescue the mounds from vandalism and from the inevitable destruction due to agriculture. We owe everything to the Wisconsin Archeological Society, to the Landmarks Committee, and to others for their efforts to arouse public opinion and thus to insure the preservation of these monuments and relics. We must all agree to the proposition that such mounds as are still intact should be preserved and where possible made the site of public parks. Or they should be incorporated where convenient into modern cemetaries, as is the case in Racine.

I need not tell you how important it is that not only these mounds should be preserved but that these relics or a large proportion of them should be kept in the State in their natural surroundings. The loss of materials of this kind from Wisconsin is a sad story; one which I have no heart to recount. In the Blackmore Museum at Salisbury, England, established in 1863, is the finest collection extant relating to our American aborigines, one so fine that it is doubtful whether its equal can again be made. All of these relics, many of them unique, were gathered by Squier and Davis, the first and among the most thorough investigators of western archaeology. It makes a true American feel humiliated that he must go to a foreign land to get first hand information about the archaeology of his own country. I hope that not even a faint repetition of this thing may ever occur again.

It is well to remember in this day when our workers are making such efforts to educate the public to the educational value of these remains that some of the earliest archaeologists in our field also made strenuous efforts along the same line but to little avail. I was interested in reading the other day in volume 3, of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, published fifty years ago, a strong plea there made for the preservation of the mounds by means of public care. In that early day the writer realized that the public must be aroused, that this is not a matter of private interest. Over fifty years ago, Dr. Emerson gave Beloit $100 with the proviso that it should revert to his heirs if a certain mound on the campus was ever disturbed. Perhaps some of us will remember how good old Dr. J. D. Butler lamented the destruction of the lizard mound on the University campus at Madison, which he thought might have been preserved if there had been proper

Plate 3.

Dr. GEO. L. COLLIE,
Acting President, Beloit College.

public sentiment in the matter. In another place this same investigator expressed the hope that tourists would come to Wisconsin to view the effigy mounds which would be preserved on every hand and that both the scientist and tourist would necessarily resort to the Capitol Hill to witness and study the marvelous copper collection found in Wisconsin and which should be collected there. This, of course, was a dream which has never come true and probably never will be true, since so many valuable coppers have escaped us altogether, and the best collections of such relics are not at Madison but in other localities.

I have spoken of our debt to the officers of the Wisconsin Archeological Society, and to the Landmarks Committee. Too much credit cannot be given to these organizations which are working so earnestly to preserve these monuments and relics. We have a fine exhibition of this spirit here today in the dedication of the Cutler tablet. These organizations can accomplish, have accomplished much, but after all there is a limit to their influence. If we are ever to mould public opinion in a thorough going way it must be by means of public education. At times you may appeal to a man's sentiment, to his State pride, but these are unreliable features unless backed up by knowledge. If an abiding interest in archaeology is to be secured in this state or in any other, it must be an object of study and our higher institutions of learning must incorporate the subject into their courses of study. Archaeology belongs in the curriculum of any institution of advanced learning. It is a science, a field of investigation requiring trained minds, keen investigators. Then too, it can never have the respect and attention it deserves unless it is fathered by colleges and universities. If wide-spread and intelligent interest is to be secured for archaeology it will come through the hundreds of people who leave these higher schools to go out and impart a knowledge of these things to pupils throughout the state. The ideal interest in archeaeology in Wisconsin is never to be secured until the university, colleges and normal schools teach it, either by itself or as a part of some other subject, such as history or sociology. I realize that it would be impractical to give archaelogical courses in high schools or in common schools, but a teacher trained in the subject could easily incorporate it into history courses, or attention could be called to it in talks given at general exercises. Country boys, for instance. are much interested in arrow heads, axes, etc. General discussions could be given upon such relics, illustrated by actual specimens, and this could easily lead into talks about aboriginal life in general, and the relation of this region to such life. It is easy enough to open the way for this kind of work, provided the higher institutions educate the teachers for it. An interesting suggestion was made in the October issue of the Wisconsin Archeologist to the effect that traveling exhibits of materials should be sent out to the schools. At Beloit we would be very glad to prepare such an exhibit, or a number of them, and let schools who desire such an exhibit use it for several weeks. This would be a method of interesting students and if the teacher were prepared for it she might arouse great interest by discussing these objects with her pupils.

It may be of interest to you to know what is being done by Wisconsin institutions along the lines of archaeology. I prepared a circular letter and sent it out to the universities, colleges, and normal

schools of the state. Not all of these replied, but from those who did reply I have collated the following statement:—

The University of Wisconsin, one of the great educational institutions of the country, and certainly the leader in education in our state, has no archaeological collection, the one it did possess having been destroyed by fire. A course in classical archaeology is given but none in American archaeology and this in Wisconsin, one of the great world centers of aboriginal life and industry. The state has amassed a magnificent historical collection, housed in a splendid building, but for the pre-historic, so far as its university is concerned, it has done nothing. There is much to be said for the university in explanaation of its failure to properly recognize archaeology. It is young, rapidly growing and it needs to use money freely in many fields of education, yet after all in such a region as this it is surprising that it has gone on to this day and paid no attention to this important field which lies about its very doors. It is a singular and unfortunate omission. Beloit college has a large collection, chiefly of Wisconsin materials, and it is the only institution in Wisconsin giving a course in American archaeology. This year there are forty students taking this course. I would rather have these forty studying the collections so far as actual results are concerned than to have thousands go through the collection and give it a casual glance. Here are forty who will have a lasting interest in the subject, an intelligent appreciation of it, and who will go out to arouse and maintain interest in it wherever they are.

At Ripon, there are no American materials though the college is making an effort to secure possession of a valuable collection of that sort, but has not yet been successful, I believe. A small, classical collection is kept there and considerable work done in the line of Roman archaeology, but none in American. At Racine, there is no collection, Lawrence has a small collection consisting of Chinese, Japanese, Egyptian and American relics. The Peruvian collection is good. So far as Wisconsin is concerned the following comprises the collection: 100 arrow and spearheads, representing a variety of form and material: 7 stone axes; one iron axe; 12 celts and a small collection of mound pottery from Ohio and Illinois. No course in archaeology is offered though material enough is on hand to illustrate such a course and to make it possible.

At Carroll College, as you may see for yourselves, there is a good nucleus, which might well make a basis for an archaeological course. There are three hundred spear and arrow heads, 40 axes and celts 9 pipes, a fine group of monuments on the campus and in the neighborhood, with apparently a good local sentiment in favor of archaeological study. I am sure that with President Carrier's interest a course will be established here as soon as possible. He states he hopes to develop this department when the new science building is completed. Milwaukee Downer College has a small but important collection, since it was made by the honored Lapham, but no courses are given there in the subject. At Marquette, there is a small collection, consisting of one celt, two axes and twenty-five arrow heads. No course is offered. Four of the seven normal schools replied to the cirular letter. At Oshkosh, no collection is made because any specimens that might naturally go to the normal school are turned over to the Pickett collection in the city library. At Whitewater, there is no collection, no courses are given, a fact which is greatly regretted by the

president, who as we know, is keenly interested in the subject. At River Falls, there is no collection. At Stevens Point, there is a collec- of 254 arrow heads, 6 axes, 13 pieces of pottery, 15 pipes, 3 coppers, a good nucleus, but no course is offered.

It seems to me particularly important that the normal schools should take up this matter of introducing archaeological courses. It is to their graduates that we must look for aid in educating the youth of our state, especially in the graded and in the country schools. It is this foundation work in lower schools that is to breed a race of archaeologists, if we ever have such a race. I wish very much that our Wisconsin Society might interest the normal school regents in this question. In no way can we advance the subject more thoroughly and effectually. Also the authorities of the state university ought to give some attention to American archaeology. We shall have accomplished a notable work if we can get this institution actively interested in this matter. A recent publication of the Society sets forth what nas been accomplished in the past few years. It is a splendid record, one of which we may well be proud, but there remains other work for us to do and the most significant of it all is in the line of education. With Wisconsin citizens, educated to the meaning and importance of this archaeological wealth within our border we shall have secured lasting and intelligent interest, which will demand the preservation of our antiquities and which will carefully guard the priceless treasures that are found in our midst.

At the close of the morning session, Vice President P. V. Lawson invited the Society to hold its next assembly at Menasha.

At 12:30 o'clock, luncheon was served to the members and guests by the ladies of the Waukesha M. E. Church.

The Afternoon Session.

Following the luncheon, an adjournment was taken to Cutler Park where a visit was paid to the new Waukesha Public Library. Owing to the showers which fell at intervals, the ceremonies in the park, which were to have begun at 2:30, were held at 2 o'clock instead and were necessarily brief. This change of time also prevented many Milwaukee members, who arrived on the afternoon train, from being present at the unveiling.

The bronze tablet purchased by the Waukesha Women's Club had been placed on the side and near the foot of the largest of the group of three fine conical mounds preserved near the western edge of the park. The members and guests having gathered about the base and sides of the mound, Dr. Wilbur O. Carrier introduced Mrs. W. H. Anderson, president of the club, who delivered a very graceful and pleasing address

and at its close removed, amid the applause of those present, the flags which covered the inscription. Mrs. Anderson told of the early discovery and survey of these mounds by Dr. Increase A. Lapham; of their protection during many years by their late owner, Mr. Morris D. Cutler, and of the purchase of the property and their preservation in recent years by the citizens of Waukesha.

The tablet is 18x24 inches in size, mounted on a strong iron standard, and bears this inscription:

* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *
* PREHISTORIC MOUNDS *
* MARKED BY *
* WAUKESHA WOMEN'S CLUB *
* MAY 26, 1906. *
* * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

At the foot of the mound, directly in front of the tablet, several of the park paths converge thus bringing the tablet to the attention of the many visitors and others who pass that way and directing their thoughts to the fine aboriginal monuments, which from a lack of knowledge of their significance, might otherwise go unnoticed. By thus appropriately marking them the ladies of the Waukesha club have not only perpetuated their own interest in the preservation of Wisconsin's records of the past but have set an example which may be followed with future profit by other socities and communities throughout the state.

After the conclusion of this simple but impressive ceremony, the members and guests returned to the Carroll College grounds where a short time was spent under the guidance of Dr. W. O. Carrier and Dr. W. L. Rankin in inspecting the new college buildings in course of construction, and the group of effigy, linear and oval mounds and the Indian cornhills preserved on the campus.

At three o'clock, all again met in the college assembly hall where the program of the afternoon session was resumed. Dr. Walter L. Rankin, Vice President of Carroll College, delivered a most interesting address on the "Antiquities of Waukesha County." He exhibited large sized sketches of a re-survey of the college group of mounds and other works at Waukesha. A portion of his address is here published.

Plate 4.

The UNVEILING OF THE CUTLER MOUND TABLET.

Mrs. W. H. Anderson at the right of the flag covered tablet; Dr. S. D. Peet, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Dr. W. O. Carrier, Mr. Rolland L. Porter and Dr. W. L. Rankin at the left.

THE ANTIQUITIES OF WAUKESHA COUNTY.

ADDRESS BY DR. WALTER L. RANKIN.

"In offering to you this hastily prepared paper on the Antiquities of Waukesha County, I wish to express my appreciation of the honor done me by an appointment on this program in conjunction with the distinguished men of science who are to address you. Also at the outset to acknowledge my obligations to the indefatigable and efficient secretary of the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, Mr. Chas. E. Brown, who has kindly placed within my reach an abundance of material. The field opened up by this material and other material at hand is so vast that in the short time at my disposal for the preparation of this address I have been barely able to enter its borders, and certainly within the space of twenty minutes I cannot conduct this intelligent Assembly very far over its rich deposits, or acquaint them very thoroughly with its contents, but I hope that the trip so far as it extends will be pleasant and profitable. The Wisconsin Society are to be heartily congratulated on having the services of so capable and painstaking and enthusiastic a worker as their present secretary.

"Three objects were evidently in view when the Society were invited to hold a field assembly in Waukesha, as the guests of Carroll College; first, to awaken sentiment and greatly increase interest in this important subject of antiquarian research. Second, to sound a note of warning with respect to the destruction of these valuable historical monuments, which have been scattered so thickly in our own region and elsewhere throughout the state, but large numbers of which have already been obliterated or ruined beyond repair. The one object which the promoters of this gathering have most deeply at heart is to stay the hand of destruction, and to unite all classes of people in the purpose to cherish and preserve the antiquities which remain. We hope that such information will be imparted to-day and such impressions created as will tend toward this result. The third object which we have in view and one which personally and locally we are especially interested in, is to offer our home institution of Carroll College as a convenient and natural depository for collections of all kinds which private individuals may possess or acquire, and which they may desire to place where they will be of some benefit to the public at large. Carroll College, especially after its splendid new building dedicated to scientific purposes shall be completed, will have ample facilities for storing and exhibiting such collections, and will take pleasure in receiving them and arranging them, on the shelves of its museum always remembering to give due credit to the donor.

* * * *

Eleven years before the date mentioned above (1866), a very important and valuable book was printed, "The Antiquities of Wisconsin," as surveyed and described by I. A. Lapham, civil engineer, in behalf of the American Antiquarian Society. This book was a national publication, issued by the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, D. C. It was published in 1855 and at the present day still remains a classic.

As has been suggested to me, a speaker treating on the topic which

has been assigned to me, could not do beter than to quote liberally from this volume. I have used it freely, both directly and indirectly for the statements of this paper, and for the accompanying diagrams and illustrations. To-day we have been roaming over the sites and among the works which were dearly loved by Increase A. Lapham, and for the preservation of whose history he did so much. Let us gratefully acknowledge Wisconsin's indebtedness to him and to his life work. We have also present with us to-day another worker in the same field, a veteran explorer, an honored editor, author and investigator, Dr. Stephen D. Peet, at present of Chicago. Of him it has been said: "Perhaps no Wisconsin student living to-day has taken so great an interest in Wisconsin antiquities, or contributed more to our knowledge of them." We have in the Carroll College library three volumes of Dr. Peet's Prehistoric America, and are just adding to our store two other instructive books which have issued fom his pen.

Opening this volume of Mr. Lapham's, glancing over its table of contents, at the headings of its chapters, its array of plates and long list of diagrams and illustrations, we are impressed at once with the fact that Wisconsin is a state rich in aboriginal remains and treasures, one of the decided districts where "relic hunters" go, where these treasures abound, and treasures possessing special features of their own. Wisconsin, in short, is the state of the effigy mounds and Waukesha County is one of the most highly-favored regions in the state in the number and variety of these. The geographical distribution of these ancient earthmarks is treated of by Dr. Lapham in six chapters, and one of these is devoted entirely to the ancient works in the basin of the Pishtaka River (that is, our Fox River). Some parts of Waukesha are also discussed in other chapters. Six full-page plates portray the mounds of Waukesha itself, and six more show us those of other parts of the county.

The next fact that impresses us is the large number of mounds existing at that day, which it is now impossible to find. On plate 18, showing the ancients works at or near Waukesha, we find an array of mounds, which may be located as follows:

1. On Bird Hill, ... 8
2. On the site of the Court House and Catholic church, ... 7
3. Isolated mound near the site of the Silurian Spring, ... 1
4. On the present site of Maynard's livery and near the present site of the Y. M. C. A. building, ... 2
5. On the site of the Columbia block, ... 1
6. Cutler Park (2 omitted)..... 1
7. Series extending from Gaspar's store to the site of the old Congregational church, west of Cutler Park, ... 10
8. At the junction of Main street and West avenue, ... 3
9. College lot and vicinity, ... 13
10. East of the College grounds, between Charles and James streets and between McCall and College avenue, ...6
11. East of the city limits, near the residence of Mr. George Harding, ... 3

making a total of 55 surveyed, described and platted and existing in the year 1855. Is this not a surprising list? How many of these mounds at present exist? How many are my audinece individually aware of? The common idea in the popular mind is no doubt that

there is one large mound in Cutler's park, with its two small companions, and three or four on College Hill.

It will be noticed that the mounds of Waukesha, as recorded by Mr. Lapham, occupy three different levels, those in the lower part of the village (mostly conical) on the lowest grounds, those in the upper part of the village on what may be called the second bank, at the Court House; while the others are on the highlands south and east of the village, on Carroll campus and the site of the Resthaven Sanitarium. As an example of obliteration let me take the latter group, on the high hill above Arcadian Spring. This is described by Mr. Lapham as consisting of two round mounds, four oblong, one turtle and one bird-shaped mound. The latter was a notable figure, giving rise to the name Bird Hill as applied to these structures. The bird effigy measured 180 feet from tip to tip of the wings. It was located on a steep hillside with its head downwards. But this curious effigy and the fame of it must have vanished many years ago, for I have found very few who could tell me where Bird Hill was located. I have corresponded with some of the former residents of this spot, so interesting to the antiquarians. and they had never seen nor heard of the bird mound nor known their residence under the name of Bird Hill. They knew that it had been called Hickory Grove. Our explorers have visited the hill and they found two small round mounds, all that are left of the eight notable ones.

How about the mounds of Carroll College hill? There are 13 of them on Mr. Lapham's diagram. Six of these are gone but not through any fault of the college authorities. They were all outside of our college lot; two of them immediately south probably on the line of College Avenue, two of them further south on the site of residences, one northeast and one west of our grounds. Six mounds remain in their entirety, constituting a circle or quasi enclosure five of them directly on the campus and one just outside. The 13th, perhaps because it represented an unlucky number, we have sacrificed to the exigences of our building plans. It was an effigy mound. The main body has been destroyed to make way for the Elizabeth Voorhees Dormitory, but the tail is left, and we shall carefully preserve and restore it. We have exhumed the body, perhaps not in the most scientific way but with striking results. Two skeletons were found, one apparently of a female near the center of the body and the other with larger bones, about at the head. These bones have been mounted, and are hereby exhibited to this audience. Let me close this description of our mounds by displaying the cards which have been prepared for this occasion, representing some of Mr. Lapham's plates and diagrams on a greatly enlarged scale; (1) the mounds of Waukesha; (2) the Carroll College group; (3) three beautiful mounds shown in detail; (4) map of the distribution of mounds in the Mississippi valley.

Concerning the other parts of our county, which are rich in remains, a long and interesting story could be told but we must cut it very short. I was much impressed with the minute details furnished by Secretary Brown for all of our sixteen townships. These show extensive and painstaking work. I will clip here and there an item out of this mass of details.

1. T. Menomonee—Indications of aboriginal village sites known to exist near Menomonee Falls and Fussville. Seven human skele-

tons discovered in digging a basement at the former place a few years ago.

2. T. Brookfield—Important groups of mounds on the Showerman place—sadly invaded—some of them dug into by farmer boys in a former day, bones and pottery taken out. Village sites and Indian burial places located by the Society at various points in this town.

3. T. New Berlin—A few mounds formerly existed in the neighborhood of Calhoun.

4. T. Muskego—The Muskego Lake region was a favorite resort of the Pottawatomies, and a number of the sites of their villages and camps have been relocated by the Society. Village sites and graves exist at various places along the shores of Big Muskego Lake. The graves are in one instance laid out in a neat plat of parallel rows and are covered with boulders, the object having been to preserve the bones against the attacks of wild animals, and the dogs of the nearby Indian village.

5. T. Vernon—The Fox River country in this township is preeminently a mound region. Between Big Bend and the town of Mukwonago are no less than a dozen distinct groups of conical, effigy and other mounds, besides solitary ones.

6. T. Waukesha—A Pottawatomie village was located on the bluffs south of Carroll College. Chief Leatherstrap and his wives are said to have been buried within the the present limits of Cutler's Park.

7. Pewaukee—Dr. Lapham speaks of a collection of lizards and turtles, about a mile and a half southeast of the village of Pewaukee as the most remarkable yet discovered. It consists of seven turtles, two lizards, four oblong mounds and a remarkable excavation. Other mounds and evidences exist in that township.

8. T. Lisbon—Indications of an aboriginal village site near Sussex. Stone and copper implements found.

9. T. Merton—Two groups of mounds and several village sites have been found.

10. T. Delafield—Village site near the northeast side of Lake Nagowicka. Other evidences.

11. T. Genesee—Investigations being made.

12. T. Mukwonago—I will not attempt a description in the presence of one who has investigated thoroughly and is an authority,—Mr. Roland L. Porter,—but wish it were arranged to hear from him directly. The township is rich in antiquities.

13. T. Oconomowoc—Mounds formerly existed northeast of the city—now obliterated. Other evidences.

14. T. Summit—Important groups on the shores of Silver Lake.

15 and 16. Investigations being conducted.

* * * *

Professor Cyrus Thomas in his text book on North American archaeology maintains that the mound building age must be considered one and unbroken, that the more elaborate works, the pyramids and and true effigies form the most ancient types, while the more modern types belong to a quite recent period. According to Dr. I. A. Lapham the evidence seems indisputable that mound building in our section was not discontinued until the incoming of the white race. If mound building had been carried on for thousands of years, some favored localities would show different horizons of ancient works, or at

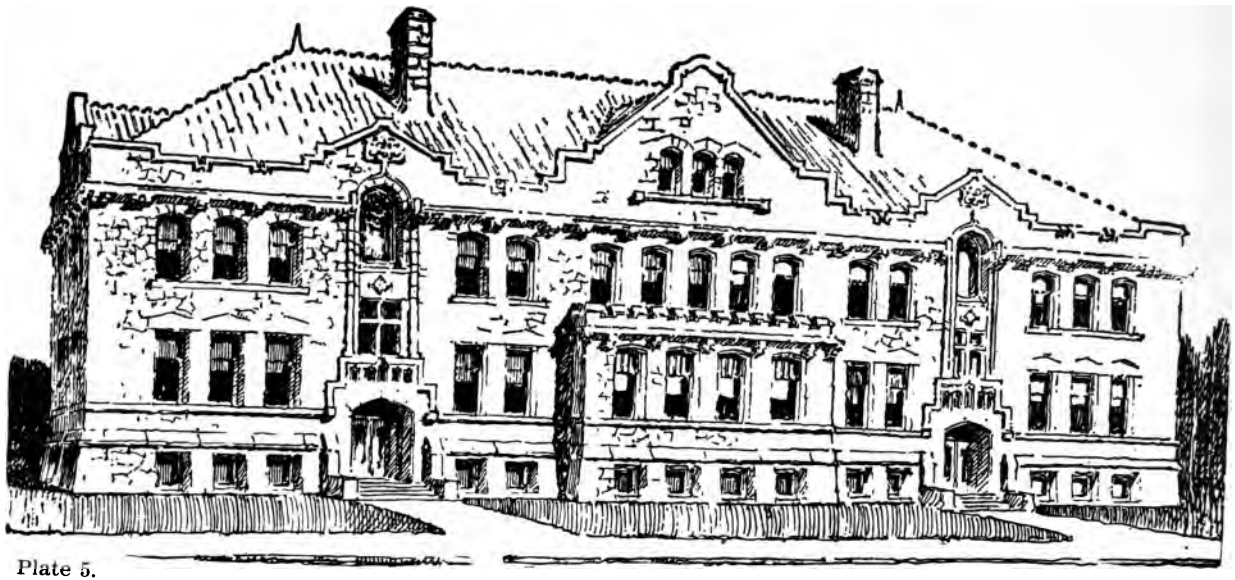


Plate 5.

RANKIN SCIENCE HALL.
Carroll College.

least of relics and remains deposited there, and the depth of accumulation would be much greater than it has been found to be. There are, it is true, in some mounds, marks of successive additions at different dates, of repeated occupancy, of two or more series of burials with greater or less intervals. There are indications in some sections of successive waves of population; but throughout all we find evidences of the same culture, like customs, like beliefs and indications of the same radical traits. There is nothing to vary the conclusion, says Prof. Thomas, that the Indians were the authors of all these works. There are no evidences of greater changes than would result from the out going of any one tribe and the incoming of another. There are no evidences of any great advance in culture from the beginning to the end.

Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites followed with an instructive talk on the "Work of the State Historical Society," whose archaeological collections, he stated, were quite extensive and available to students and the public. The University of Wisconsin had offered a course in American archaeology but the professor in charge had fallen ill and it had not yet been possible to replace him. He called attention to the fact that in the countries of the Old World the value of preserving and appropriately marking historic and prehistoric sites and monuments has long been recognized. Some prehistoric mounments were rescued from decay and either carefully restored or at least protected from mulitation. Thus there were preserved for our study and contemplation and for the generations to follow, the works which tell of the men and deeds of the past. Such ancient works as Stonehenge, Roman barrows, Saxon village sites, Irish round towers, runic stones, the houses of Pompeii and the exhumed cities of Greese and Asia Minor were thus conserved. In our own country some states have displayed much activity and enterprise in the preservation, restoration and appropriate marking of their historic and prehistoric sites.

He called attention to the early efforts of the Wisconsin Historical Society and of some of its individual members, among them Increase A. Lapham, to encourage the intelligent study and preservation of the ancient monuments of our own state. He expressed himself as greatly pleased that the Wisconsin Archeological Society had taken such active hold of this valuable work, and hoped that it might continue.

Mr. Publius V. Lawson, Vice President of the Society spoke upon the subject of the "Pictured Mounds of Wisconsin." These remarkable works, better known to archaeologists as ef-

figy or emblematic mounds, he stated, were confined almost wholly to our state and had heretofore attracted the attention of some of the leading scientists of the world. These singular earthen structures still occur in great numbers throughout the southern half of the state. They occur singly and in groups and most frequently in association with burial and other mounds. The animals represented are those known to the modern fauna of the state. They occur in all sorts of situations, some on low lands and others on quite steep hillsides. In some groups the animals portrayed are all of one type while in others there is a commingling of several. Certain effigies are apparently restricted to certain areas whereas others are scattered about the state in various groups.

He briefly described some of the larger and more interesting of these. Some, he believed, the state itself should secure and set aside for educational purposes. The wisdom of carrying some such plan into execution before our ancient works, now on the verge of destruction, had become hopelessly wrecked must be brought to the attention of our legislators.

Dr. Stephen D. Peet, the veteran archaeologist and editor of the "American Antiquarian" was then invited by President West to address the Assembly. Doctor Peet reviewed briefly the valuable surveys and investigations conducted by Dr. Increase A. Lapham and other pioneer workers in Wisconsin. It pleased him greatly, he said, to note how the early seeds of interest and knowledge planted by these unselfish workers had grown in present years under the influence of organized effort and what a large amount of valuable work had been accomplished. He envied the young men engaged in the Society's researches their opportunities to further enlighten the world as to the life history of Wisconsin's prehistoric people. He spoke briefly of his own explorations conducted during a long period of years chiefly with a view to ascertaining the authorship and significance of Wisconsin's great mound systems, and the results of which have since been made known to the student through the medium of his publications.

Mr. Chas. E. Brown, the last speaker of the day, directed the attention of the audience to the great progress made by the Society in the several departments of its work during the past several years of its history, and this with a very small amount

Plate 6.

CEREMONIAL AXE.
Ringeisen Collection

of funds at its command. He desired that the state government recognize the great educational value of these activities by rendering some additional assistance. The work in the field, especially, was much hampered for the lack of adequate funds.

Private aid was also desired in order that researches and work along special lines might be conducted. An endowment fund would now be most acceptable and it was hoped that some public-spirited citizen of the state would recognize his power to thus assist the Society. The zeal and activity of the members was doing much to place the movement on a permanent basis.

Each year many new members and not a few energetic and competent workers were being enrolled. Others were being carefully trained to assist in various ways. He considered that there was some particular department of its work in which every member of the Society might labor with advantage to the cause and his own educational advancement. In every county in the state, much information of value to science and history was still to be gleaned by careful and painstaking effort. The collector of "Indian relics" must give away to the student actuated by a desire to improve his own and our knowledge of Wisconsin's past. The number of Wisconsin educators who were becoming actively interested was increasing. This he held to be an encouraging sign. It greatly surprised him that so few of these had manifested any interest in the past. Dr. Geo. L. Collie had pointed out that Wisconsin University and other leading Wisconsin institutions of learning, all of them located in sections rich in archaeological treasures, had for many years failed to profit from this fact. If the heads of these institutions would but make known to their students and the public the desirability of the establishment as aids to education, of representative local collections, the contents of many valuable cabinets, and individual hoards, would surely find their way there.

Beloit College had already set an excellent example to other institutions in this and other respects. At St. Francis Seminary a collection was being established through the interest of Rev. Wm. Metzdorf. The good result of the efforts of the Sauk County Historical Society had been made known.

The public libraries of the state might profitably set aside a

little space for the assembling of collections. Some had already forseen the wisdom of this. Small collections especially designed to circulate among the local schools were desirable. The Milwaukee Museum had for years circulated such school collections, among the public schools of that city. Each collection consisted of a stone axe, celt, arrow and spearpoint, scraper and drill and a copper point, these materials being securely wired to the bottom of a stout wooden box and accompanied by an explanatory circular. He believed that members of the Society in the larger cities of the state might select from among their duplicate materials, specimens which they could spare for such a purpose.

For several years past, the Society had been urging the establishment of full or partial courses in American archaeology at the various state colleges, but with small success. With the now increasing number of valuable text books and works of reference at the command of the teacher, instruction in this branch of science could be made both easy and exceedingly interesting. The Society had itself circulated thousands of books, pamphlets and circulars and placed other literature within reach of the teacher and student in nearly every library in the state.

The preservation, through the aid of the state. of the yet remaining mounds at Aztalan was a matter which he hoped that the Society might be able to introduce at the next session of the legislature. Thus some small amends might be made for the states shameful neglect of the celebrated inclosure once located there. It was astonishing, the speaker thought, that it should have been thought necessary to arouse public sentiment to prevent the destruction of any mounds located upon the Wisconsin University grounds. He noticed with pleasure that many of the members present were wearing upon their coat lapels and elsewhere the little arrowhead emblem recently adopted by the Society and thanked the Carroll College graduating class of 1906 for adopting it as its class emblem.

In concluding his remarks, he also expressed the gratitude of the Society for the generous hospitality and interest of Carroll College and its faculty. He hoped that in the future another assembly might be convened within its precincts. He also thanked the officers and members of the Woman's Club for their assistance and interest in making the convention a success.

Plate 7. Courtesy of W. C. Klann.

VOORHEES HALL,
Linear mounds in the foreground.

A Partial List of those Attending the Carroll College Assembly.

The printing of a complete list of the many members and friends of the Wisconsin Archeological Society attending the Assembly at Carroll College would be impossible. The following were among those present:—

Mr. and Mrs. G. A. West, Mr. and Mrs. J. G. Albright, Miss Albright, Dr. W. H. Brown, Mr. and Mrs. H. A. Crosby, H. R. Denison, W. H. Ellsworth, Mr. and Mrs. O. L. Hollister, J. W. Evans, Mrs. T. D. Brown, O. J. Habhegger, Mrs. G. W. Lyon, Mrs. E. K. Nye, Miss Clara Stredy, Mrs. Fred Jone, Mrs. Minna Kunckel, Mr. Robert Wahl, Mr. and Mrs. Chas. Lapham, Mr. L. R. Whitney, Mrs. Jno. Schwassman, Mr. P. L. Halsey, Mr. W. C. Klann, Dr. Louis Lotz, Mr. O. T. Lahman, Mr. C. J. Stredy, Mr. Jos. Ringeisen, Jr., Dr. H. H. Schlaeger, Dr. F. A. Traver, Mr. C. E. Brown and others of Milwaukee. Dr. G. L. Collie, Beloit, Mr. and Mrs. H. E. Cole, Baraboo, Mr. and Mrs. Rolland L. Porter, Mr. G. W. Camp, Mukwonago, A. D. Grutzmacher, Vernon, Dr. and Mrs. L. Falge, Reedsville, Mr. and Mrs. Jno. Gerend, Mr. Frank Gerend, Sheboygan, Prof. and Mrs. H. D. Hill, West Allis, Miss M. Brown, Marinette, Mr. P. V. Lawson, Miss Lillian Lawson, Menasha, Dr. S. D. Peet, Mrs. H. P. King, Chicago, Miss Julia A. Lapham, Miss Mary J. Lapham, Mrs. Peterson, Oconmowoc, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, Madison, Mr. H. L. Skavlem, Mr. Horace McElroy, Janesville, Mrs. Weaver, Mr. R. B. Weaver, Mr. A. T. Weaver, Sussex, Mrs. Emma Sheldon, Aztalan, Mr. H. Conant, Jefferson, Mr. T. L. Jeffris, Watertown, Mrs. F. H. Waldron, Kenosha, Mr. O. H. Goldie, Racine, Dr. W. O. Carrier, Dr. and Mrs. W. L. Rankin, Prof. E. G. Ehlman, Mrs. H. M. Buck, Mrs. W. H. Anderson, Mr. A. J. Frame, Miss M. N. Rankin, Mr. Dan L. Camp, Mr. W. Pierce, Dr. W. O. Carrier, Dr. and Mrs. W. L. Rankin, Prof. R. O. Gibbons, Mr. C. V. Burton, and many others of Waukesha.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS FROM WISCONSIN

In the American Museum of Natural History, New York, N. Y.

By Harlan I. Smith.

Students of the archaeology of Wisconsin need to know not only the literature, which is a record of past explorations and studies, and the field, which is the scene of their future labors, but also the specimens, as these have been a basis for a large part (if not all) of the literature and have come from the field. They should be informed as to where these specimens are, what they are, and how available they may be for their own studies.

In order that Wisconsin archaeological material may be studied to advantage the student should have at his disposal lists of all the specimens from the State in whatever museum or private collection they may be. It would therefore be a valuable and worthy task to secure and publish such catalogues at least of the Wisconsin material in our leading museums and largest collections.

In the American Museum of Natural History, New York City, the archaeological specimens are numbered under numerators:—

1.
2.
3.
12.
20.
T.
D.

and are catalogued in volumes bearing the same numerators. Herewith is a transcript from the catalogues of the brief data now recorded. A more complete description may be made by any earnest student, on any day, by consulting the specimens, all of which are on exhibition.

The Hall of United States Archaeology.

This hall contains the collections illustrating the prehistoric cultures and arts of the United States and Canada, excepting those from the Columbia Valley northward and from the cliff-dwellings and pueblos in Colorado, Utah, New Mexico and Arizona. The collections from the former excepted area are shown in the north hall of the floor below this one, while those from the latter region are to be found on the south side of the hall adjacent to that of the United States archaeology.

The collections are divided into two great groups—the first, in the main part of the hall, is being arranged to show the various cultures of the people who formerly lived in the different regions of our country; the second, composed of the Andrew Ellicott Douglass collection, in the tower, is being arranged to show the various arts of the entire country and the distribution of each. For instance, in the main part of the hall if we look through the Ohio cases, we find a number of pipes shown as a part of a collection intended to illustrate, so far as possible, the life and culture of the tribes formerly living in the region of Ohio. In their lives the pipe is only one feature, and in the study of such a tribe we wish to see illustrated all features. On the other hand, in the tower we find grouped together all the pipes of various kinds and shapes, from the entire country, including such as are shown in the Ohio collection, together with some from many other States. In that hall we wish to notice the various kinds of pipes and all the regions in which pipes have been found.

THE COLLECTIONS ILLUSTRATING THE PREHISTORIC TRIBES.

In the main part of the hall these collections will be arranged geographically under the names of the States from which they come. Furthermore, the objects found along the Atlantic seaboard are arranged, as would seem appropriate, on the eastern side of the hall at the entrance; those from northern States are in the northern cases; from California and the Far West in the western cases, nearest to the elevated railroad, while the collections from the Southern States are in the southern cases, toward Seventy-seventh Street.

Some regions are characterized by certain objects, or belong to one culture, while in other localities we find objects which show that another tribe of quite a different culture formerly lived there. Thus, North America may be divided into a number of areas, each one corresponding to the home of a certain tribe or of several different nations that had similar arts and industries. One of these old areas sometimes falls within one of our states; in other cases within parts, or all, of several of them.

Along the Atlantic seaboard the people were fishermen whose arts never reached a very high stage. In the Ohio Valley were tribes who built great earthworks and made many beautiful objects. In the central Mississippi Valley dwelt a different people who made truncated pyramids, one of which, in Illinois, covers more ground than the great pyramid of Egypt.

The collections are grouped under the heading of states because the exact boundary of the old cultural areas are, as yet, not fully determined, and also because the visitors to the Museum are better acquainted with the location of our own political boundaries and also because by this arrangement of states in their approximate geographical relations, the whole hall is laid out so that these cultural areas follow in their natural order. If the art of Western New Jersey and Eastern Pennsylvania is identical or otherwise, it will be noticed as one passes from a New Jersey case to its western neighbor—a Pennsylvania case.

If one wishes to learn of an art illustrated in one of these regions as it is found throughout the entire country, it is best to consult the collection in the tower.

THE COLLECTION ILLUSTRATING THE PREHISTORIC ARTS.

This collection was presented to the Museum by the late Andrew Ellicott Douglass. The objects are classified according to their form, without respect to the cultural areas or tribes from which they came, but the distribution of these forms may be determined by noting the place from which each specimen was obtained.

If one wishes to learn of the life of any of these tribes, it is

best to consult the collections from that people, which are exhibited in the main part of this hall.

The Wisconsin Collections.

Besides the actual specimens from any locality, casts, models, photographs and drawings of specimens and maps, photographs and relief models of sites and mounds are employed. With the general label "Wisconsin," the locality from which the specimens come, is a map of the whole United States with that particular state colored in red. Next follows a detail label of the county, site, mound or locality from which the particular series of specimens comes and that in turn is supplemented by a map of Wisconsin with that special locality similary colored. With each specimen is a detail label.

It will be noticed that there is scant data with many of the Wisconsin specimens that were collected years ago before it was realized that specimens without complete data are often of little, and in some cases even of no value to students. This is obviated in the case of specimens collected by the Museum's own expeditions.

The collector's name is given to indicate the authenticity of the specimens, and credit is given to the donor of those received as gifts.

References to the literature of the specimens, mounds and sites are given in the cases. Many books of reference, special articles and typewritten popular abstracts of these and of full scientific accounts are placed on the cases.

Lectures are frequently given at the Museum regarding the various subjects of archaeology and natural history. Frequently they are illustrated by stereopticon views or specimens and sometimes by both. These are delivered not only in the large Museum hall, seating about 1400 people, but also in smaller halls, in the laboratories and in the exhibition halls. They are given not only to the members of the Museum, but also to the public, to school children, classes and similar interested groups of people. These are delivered by members of the staff and sometimes by scientists from other institutions or places.

Questions from individuals are also answered, where possible, whether received by mail or by word of mouth.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL MATERIALS FROM WISCONSIN

CATALOGUE NO. 1.

1

2081 2 Copper spearpoints. See Rep. 1890–91 p. 34. From a mound at Green Lake. Presented by Thomas Meyer, Dec. 25, 1869–90, 116.

CATALOGUE NO. 2.

2

Collection purchased of C. C. Jones, Jr., 1877–80. See An. Rep. 13, p. 7. 1869–90. 81, and gift of Robert L. Stuart.
4214 Copper implement. Not in case. Washington Co. 1869–90, 81.
4221 Arrowpoint. North Milwaukee, Milwaukee Co. 1869–90. 81.
4243 Arrowpoint. North Milwaukee, Milwaukee Co. 1869–90. 81.
4260 Leaf-shaped implement. North Milwaukee. Milwaukee Co. 1869–90, 81.

CATALOGUE NO. 3.

3

Collection presented by Mrs. S. S. Haldeman in 1881 and 1882. 1869–90. 90.
213–224 Arrowpoint. 3/223 not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
304–308 Arrowpoint. 3/309 3/313 not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
419–421 Arrowpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
422 Arrowpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
424–427 Arrowpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
428 Arrowpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
440 Copper arrowpoint. Not in case. From an Indian grave in Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
441 Arrowpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
898 Arrowpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
932–942 Arrowpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
1000–1003 Spearpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
1004–1005 Spearpoint. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
1008 Spearpoint. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.
1017 Discoidal stone. Not in case. Wisconsin. 1869–90, 90.

CATALOGUE NO. 12.

12

The Brantz Mayer collection. Gift of Percy R. Pyne, 1869–90, 69. Some or all of these may be from Wisconsin. The record at present available is as follows:
6 Pipe. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
10 Maul. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet. Collected in 1846.
22 Gouge. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
23 Axe. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
27 Celt. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
28 Celt. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
29 Celt. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
30 Chipped implement. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
51 Pipe Catlinite. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
52 Pipe Catlinite. Not in case. Pyne, Jr., 1879, p. 132. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
52 Arrowpoint made of quartz. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
53 Arrowpoint made of black slate. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
55 Catlinite weapon. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
67 Banner stone made of fine red and white quartzite. Not in case. Upper Mississippi. Nicollet.
"This Indian tomahawk, or as Schoolcraft called it, "Cassetete," was brought by Prof. Nicollet from the tribes about the sources of the

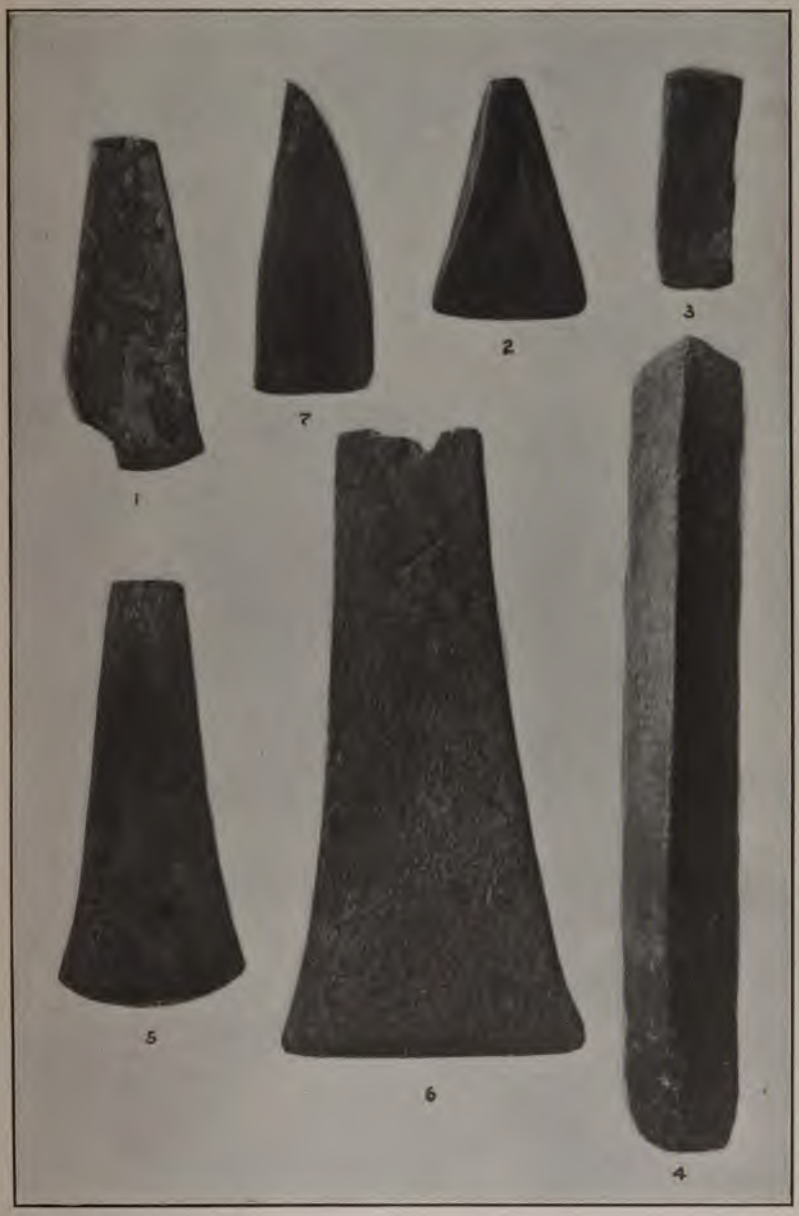


Plate 8.

COPPER AXES AND CHISELS.

American Museum of Natural History Collections.

(See Catalogue No. 20.)

Mississippi and given me by Dr. Ducatel, who obtained it from the Indian articles left at Nicollet's death in Baltimore. Schoolcraft thought it the finest specimen he ever saw and had it engraved and described in the 6th vol. of his History of the Indians—(h. letter). See Schoolcraft, vol. 4, p. 553.

CATALOGUE NO. 20.

Albert W. Robinson Collection. Presented by Morris K. Jesup, Esq., June, 1902. 190_–45.

20
·6633 (1485) 1902–45.
Iron tomahawk pipe, inlaid with crescent and two copper bands. From Madison, Dane Co., Wisconsin. Collected by Dr. C. H. Hall.

20
·6636 (80) 1902–45.
Brass bracelet. From Pike Creek, Fond du Lac, Fond du Lac Co., Wisconsin. Collected by Gust Badger, 1896. See No. 1, plate 9.

20
·6637 (731) 1902–45.
Brass bracelet. From Dane Co. See No. 2, plate 9.

20
·6638 1902–45.
Silver earring. Not in case. From Chippewa Indians, Winnebago Co.

20
·6639 1902–45.
Five iron arrowpoints. From Dane Co.

20
·6676 1902–45.
Float copper nugget. 26x18 inches. Weight, 135 pounds. From glacial drift. Plowed up on a farm near Peshtigo, Marinette Co., 1897.

20
·6677 (404) 1902–45.
Copper axe. Length, 4 3/8 inches. From Elkhart Lake, Sheboygan Co. Collected by Edw. Kraemer. See No. 1, Plate 8.

20
·6678 1902–45.
Copper spear, 4 5/8 inches long. From Greenbush, Sheboygan Co. Collected by A. B. Corbett.

20
·6679 1902–45.
Copper awl. From Waupaca, Waupaca Co. Collected by W. H. Potts, 1887.

20
·6680 (403) 1902–45.
Copper axe, 3¼ inches long. From Cedar Grove, Sheboygan Co. Collected by William Van Driest, 1894. See No. 2, Plate 8.

20
·6681 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. 4 15/16 inches long, rivet hole in socket. From Sherman, Sheboygan Co. Collected by Ernst Borkenhagen, 1868.

20
6682 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 6¼ inches long. From Elkhart, Sheboygan Co. Collected by Joseph Kraemer.

20
6683 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 3⅝ inches long. From Oostburg, Sheboygan Co. Collected by Willie Tillier.

20
6684 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint. 8 inches long. From Plymouth, Sheboygan Co. Collected by Fred. Kreppeler.

20
6685 1902-45.
Copper bracelet, 1⅞ inches in diameter From Elkhart Lake, Sheboygan Co. Collected by Joseph Kraemer.

20
6686 1902-45.
Copper crescent. From Elkhart Lake, Sheboygan Co. Collected by Joseph Kraemer. See No. 3, Plate 9.

20
6687 1902-45.
Copper crescent. From Sheboygan Co. See No. 4, Plate 9.

20
6688 1902-45.
Portion of copper crescent. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6689 1902-45.
Three copper arrowpoints, socketted type. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6690 1902-45.
Two copper arrowpoints, socketted type. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6691 1902-45.
Two copper awls. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6692 1902-45.
Copper awl. Large size. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6693 1902-45.
Thirty-three awls, various sizes. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6694 1902-45.
Four copper awls (?) From Sheboygan Co.

20
6695 1902-45.
Copper bead, small. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6696 1902–45.
Six copper tubes, 3 9/16 1 5/16 inches long. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6697 1902–45.
Ten copper fishhooks. From Sheboygan Co.

20
6698 1902–45.
Copper awl. From Holland, Sheboygan Co. (Cedar Grove, P. O.). Collected by Peter Roelse.

20
6699 1902–45.
Copper awl, large size, 5¾ inches long. From surface of plowed field on farm of Charles H. Smith, seven and one-half miles northeast of Oshkosh, Winnebago Co. Collected by Charles H. Smith.

20
6700 (401) 1902–45.
Copper hatchet. Found by a farmer in 1880 near Winneconne, Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. See No. 3, Plate 8.

20
6701 1902–45.
Copper knife, 7¼ inches long. Found by a farmer in 1882 near Eureka, Winnebago Co.

20
6702 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. odd form. Found in 1888, Section 12, Wolf River, Winnebago Co. Collected by F. S. Perkins.

20
6703 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, point barbed on one side. From Doty's Island, Lake Winnebago, Winnebago Co. Silas A. Stone, 1887.

20
6704 1902–45.
Copper needle. From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago, Co. F. B. Clark, 1895. ,

20
6705 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint with socket, 2½ inches long. From north shore of Lake Poygan, Winnebago Co. F. B. Clark, 1894.

20
6706 1902–45.
Two copper awls. From north shore of Lake Poygan, Winnebago Co. F. B. Clark, 1894.

20
6707 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. 4⅝ inches long. From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. Fred S. Clark, 1895.

20
6708 1902-45.
Copper arrowpoint, 2 1-16 inches long, with socket. From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. Fred S. Clark.

20
6709 1902-45.
Three copper awls, 5 7-16, 5 13-16 and 5 9-16 inches long. From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. Fred S. Clark, 1895.

20
6710 1902-45.
Seven copper arrows, small size. From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. Mr. Fred S. Clark.

20
6711 1902-45.
Copper awl, flattened. From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. Fred S. Clark.

20
6712 1902-45.
Portion of copper awl (?). From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. Fred S. Clark.

20
6713 1902-45.
Three copper awls, 3 15-16, 3 3-8, 3 5-16 inches long. From north shore of Lake Winneconne. Fred S. Clark, 1894-5.

20
6714 1902-45.
Three copper awls. From north shore of Lake Wineconne. Fred S. Clark.

20
6715 1902-45.
Copper arrowpoint, 1 5-8 inches long, broken at socket. From north shore of Lake Winneconne. Fred S. Clark.

20
6716 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 2 5-8 inches long. From north shore of Lake Winneconne. Fred S. Clark.

20
6717 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, socket with rivet hole. 2 15-16 inches long. From north shore of Lake Winneconne. Fred S. Clark.

20
6718 1902-45.
Copper knife. From north shore of Lake Winneconne. Fred S. Clark.

20
6719 1902-45.
Brass bracelet, 1 5-8 inches in greatest diameter. From north shore of Lake Winneconne. Fred S. Clark.

20
6720 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 5 3-4 inches long. From Marcellon, Columbia Co. George Griffin.

20
6721 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 7-8 inches long. From Scott, Columbia Co. Melvin Simons.

20
6722 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, with socket. From Scott, Columbia Co. Wm. Barrett.

20
6723 1902–45.
Copper hatchet. From Caledonia, Columbia Co. Wm. Graves.

20
6724 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 7-8 inches long. From Wyocena, Columbia Co. Frank Wing.

20
6725 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 3-4 inches long. From Herman P. O., Dodge Co. Frank Justman.

20
6726 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 13-16 inches long. From Mayville, Dodge Co. Chris. Schultz.

20
6727 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 11-16 inches long. From Horicon, Dodge Co. Frank Hill.

20
6728 1902–45.
Copper barb of harpoon. From north shore of Lake Winneconne, Winnebago Co. Fred S. Clark, 1895.

20
6729 (268) 1902–45.
Copper spud. Weight 2 lbs. 12 oz.; length 8 5-16 inches. From Shields, Dodge Co. Plowed up by Henry Ebert in the fall of 1895. See No. 1, Plate 10.

20
6730 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 5 1-8 inches long. From the farm of Eric Lewis, on Catfish River, near outlet of Lake Waubesa, Dane Co. Sept., 1890.

20
6731 1902–45.
Copper knife. From the farm of Eric Lewis, on Catfish River, near outlet of Lake Waubesa, Dane Co. Sept., 1890.

20
6732 (39) 1902-45.
Copper spud, 1 9-16 inches long. From a mound near Second Lake, Madison, Dane Co. 1878. See No. 2, Plate 10.

20
6733 1902-45.
Copper bracelet, 2 3-4 inches greatest diameter. From Dane Co.

20
6734 1902-45.
Copper bracelet, 2 3-16 inches greatest diameter. From Dane Co.

20
6735 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 1-8 inches long. From Buffalo, Marquette Co. James Maitland.

20
6736 1902-45.
Copper awl, 6 3-4 inches long. From Montello, Marquette Co. A. Barry, 1890.

20
6737 1902-45.
Copper awl, 5 inches long. From Montello, Marquette Co. Charles L. Stevens, 1892.

20
6738 1902-45.
Copper awl, 4 1-4 inches long. From Montello, Marquette Co. Charles L. Stevens, 1891.

20
6739 1902-45.
Copper awl, small. From Montello, Marquette Co. Charles L. Stevens, 1893.

20
6740 1902-45.
Copper nugget, small, hammered. From Montello, Marquette Co. Charles L. Stevens, 1891.

20
6741 1902-45.
Brass tube, curved. From Montello, Marquette Co. A. Barry, 1889.

20
6742 1902-45.
Copper adze, 2 7-8 inches long. From Waupaca Co.

20
6743 1902-45.
Copper crescent, 4 5-16 inches long. From Wesley Minor's farm, Waupaca, Waupaca Co. 1896. A. Miller.

20
6744 1902-45.
Copper pike. Weight 1 lb. 6 3-4 oz.; length 16 3-4 inches. From Larrabee, Waupaca Co. Benj. Plopper, 1878.

20
6745 1902-45.
Copper knife with trace of silver. From plowed field, Waupaca, Waupaca Co. 1884.

20
6746 1902-45.
Copper point, 7 7-16 inches long, with trace of silver. One end chisel shaped. From Waupaca Co.

20
6747 1902-45.
Copper knife. Was used for seven years as a gun-trigger guard. Holes at the ends made for that purpose. From Waupaca Co. Farmer Robbins, 1870.

20
6748 1902-45.
Copper knife, 5 13-16 inches long. From Waupaca, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1875.

20
6749 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 5-16 inches long, with socket and traces of silver. From Waupaca, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1885.

20
6750 1902-45.
Copper knife or spearpoint. From Waupaca, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1892.

20
6751 1902-45.
Copper awl. From Waupaca, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1891.

20
6752 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint. From Rural, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1885.

20
6753 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 7-8 inches long, mended with soft solder. From Rural, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1890.

20
6754 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint. From Rural, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1881.

20
6755 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 9-16 inches long, with socket. Point missing. From Rural, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1881.

20
6756 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 5 3-8 inches long, with socket. From Rural, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1886.

20
6757 1902-45.
Copper knife, small. From Rural, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1893.

20
6758 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 5-8 inches long. From Berlin, Green Lake Co. Thomas Hamilton.

20
6759 1902-45.
Copper awl, long. From Green Lake Co.

20
6760 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 9-16 inches long, socketed. From Dartford, Green Lake Co. D. Bessett, 1883.

20
6761 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 11-16 inches long, socketed. From Dartford, Green Lake Co. D. Bessett, 1892.

20
6762 1902-45.
Copper nugget, small. From Green Lake, Green Lake Co. D. Bessett, 1886.

20
6763 1902-45.
Copper nugget, hammered. From Green Lake, Green Lake Co. Douglas Bessett, 1885.

20
6764 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 inches long, socketed. From Green Lake, Green Lake Co. Douglas Bessett, 1887.

20
6765 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint. From Green Lake, Green Lake Co. Douglas Bessett, 1882.

20
6766 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 9-16 inches long, socketed. From plowed land, Green Lake, Green Lake Co. Douglas Bessett, 1888.

20
6767 (18) 1902-45.
Copper bracelet of thin ribbon copper. From Green Lake, Green Lake Co. Douglas Bessett, 1889. See No. 5, Plate 9.

20
6768 1902-45.
Copper bracelet. From Green Lake, Green Lake Co. Douglas Bessett, 1882. See No. 6, Plate 9.

20
6769 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 1-8 inches long, socketed. From Princeton, Green Lake Co. O. J. Weiss, 1895.

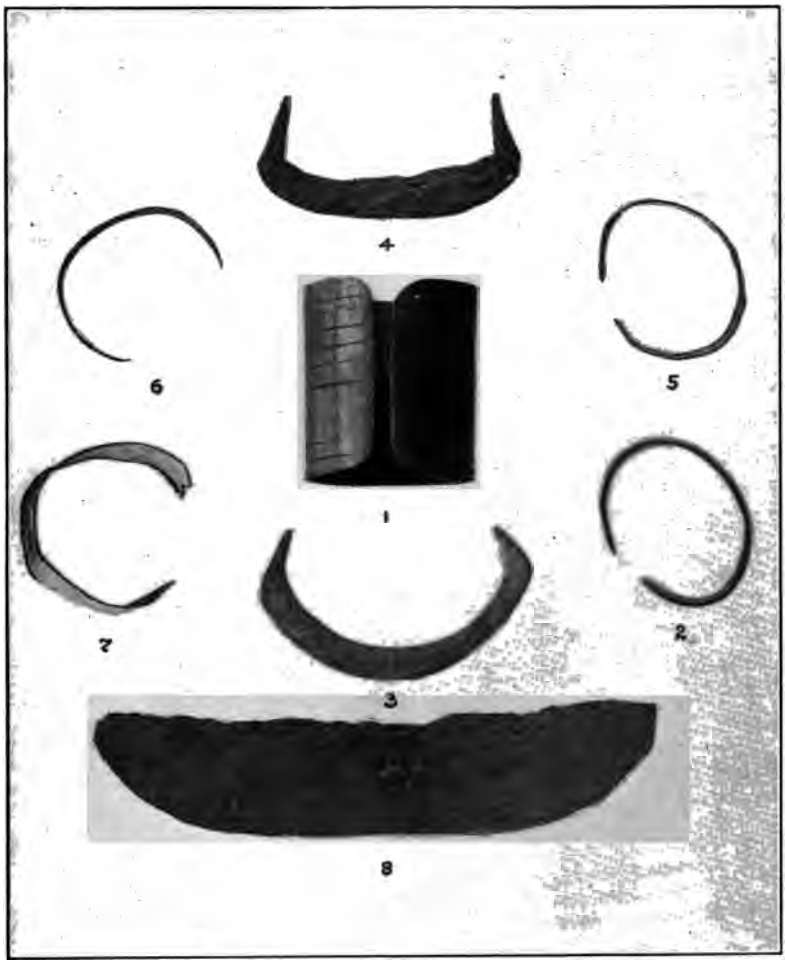


Plate 9.

COPPER BRACELETS AND CRESCENTS.

American Museum of Natural History Collections.

(See catalogues No. 20 and T.)

20
6770 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 11-16 inches long, socketed. From Princeton, Green Lake Co. O. J. Weiss, 1892.

20
6771 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 3-8 inches long, socketed. From Princeton, Green Lake Co. O. J. Weiss, 1887.

20
6772 (168) 1902-45.
Copper chisel. Weight 2 lbs. 12 1-4 oz.; length 10 15-16 inches. From Chetek, Barron Co. Joseph Johnson, 1888. See No. 4, Plate 8.

20
6773 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 10 3-16 inches long, socketed. Plowed up in grading Erie St. at Madison, Dane Co. Dr. C. H. Hall, 1892.

20
6774 (91) 1902-45.
Copper spud, 4 1-16 inches long, socketed. In sand under water, near shore of Second Lake, Madison, Dane Co. Schiebel, 1882, through Dr. C. H. Hall. See No. 3, Plate 10.

20
6775 1902-45.
Copper bracelet, 2 3-8 inches greatest diameter. From Dane Co.

20
6776 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 5 1-16 inches long, socketed. Not in case. From Sussex, Waukesha Co. Charles Schwulst.

20
6777 1902-45.
Copper knife, rivet hole in socket. From Belmont, Portage Co. Charles Dopp, 1871.

20
6778 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 3-8 inches long, socketed. From Elkhorn, Walworth Co. Edw. Chesebro, 1879.

20
6779 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, wide socket. From Charlestown, Calumet Co. A. F. Dornbush, 1886.

20
6780 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 5-8 inches long, rivet hole in socket. From Orion, Richland Co. L. H. Komers, 1895.

20
6781 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 1-16 inches long, rivet hole in socket. From Milwaukee Co. W. H. Elkey, 1891.

20
6782 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 1-4 inches long, with silver. From Erin, Washington Co. Elizabeth Kern of Erin near Hartford, through F. S. Perkins, 1863.

20
6783 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 3-16 inches long, socketed. From Nielsville, Clark Co. Goerden Marx, 1887.

20
6784 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 7-8 inches long, socketed. Not in case. From Manning, Crawford Co. Maus Burland.

20
6785 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 9 3-16 inches long, socketed. From Marinette Co. Joseph Young, through F. S. Perkins.

20
6786 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint socketed. From Edgerton, Rock Co. E. S. Hatch, 1894.

20
6787 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint. From Edgerton, Rock Co. E. S. Hatch, 1887.

20
6788 1902-45.
Copper awl, 6 3-16 inches long. From Fulton, Rock Co. John Sherman, 1896.

20
6789 1902-45.
Copper knife, 6 1-16 inches long, rivet hole in socket. Left handed (?) From Allenton, Washington Co. Through F. S. Perkins, 1871.

20
6790 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 15-16 inches long, socketed. From Richfield, Washington Co. Henry Bumgartner, 1854.

20
6791 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 3-8 inches long. From Kewaskum, Washington Co. Found by a farmer, 1885.

20
6792 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, both ends missing. From Kewaskum, Washington Co. Found by a farmer, 1885.

20
6793 1902-45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 1-2 inches long, socketed. From Barton, Washington Co. August Eckert.

20
6794 1902–45.
Copper awl. From La Fayette Co. C. C. Townsend, 1881.

20
6795 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 10 1-2 inches long. From Elk Grove, La Fayette Co. Jas. Armstrong, 1890.

20
6796 1902–45.
Copper knife. From mound at Prairie du Chien, Crawford Co. D. W. Derby, 1882.

20
6797 1902–45.
Copper hatchet, 3 13-16 inches long. Not in case. From mound at Prairie du Chien, Crawford Co. D. W. Derby, 1882.

20
6798 1902–45.
Two copper beads. From mound at Prairie du Chien, Crawford Co. D. W. Derby, 1882.

20
6799 1902–45.
Copper knife, 10 1-4 inches long, traces of silver. Not in case. From Stockbridge, Calumet Co. Charles Hayward, 1879.

20
6800 1902–45.
Copper knife, 9 3-4 inches long, traces of silver. From Charlestown, Calumet Co. M. Pfister.

20
6801 1902–45.
Copper knife, 8 1-16 inches long, curved. Found in hayfield, S. W. ¼ Sec. 31, Hunting, Shawano Co. L. A. Bessey, 1888.

20
6802 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 7-16 inches long, socketed. From Keshena, Shawano Co. Miss Lawe.

20
6803 (399) 1902–45.
Copper axe 5 11-16 inches long. From Wonewoc, Juneau Co. Mr. B. Edwards, 1895. See No. 5, Plate 8.

20
6804 (397) 1902–45.
Copper axe 8 3-8 inches long. From Keshena, Shawano Co. Miss Lawe, 1887. See No. 6, Plate 8.

20
6805 (269) 1902–45.
Copper spud 8 1-4 inches long. From East Devil's Nose, Merrimac, Sauk Co. D. J. Farnam, 1886. See No. 4, Plate 10.

20
6806 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 7-16 inches long, socketed. From top of bluff on Indian trail, Merrimac, Sauk Co. Dr. C. H. Hall, 1880.

20
6807 (223) 1902–45.
Copper bracelet. From Sauk Co. J. Craemer, 1867. See No. 7, Plate 9.

20
6808 1902–45.
Copper chisel, 6 3-4 inches long. From mound at Prairie du Chien, Crawford Co. D. W. Derby, 1882. Was in a fire in his farm house

20
6809 1902–45.
Copper chisel, 7 1-4 inches long. From Fond du Lac Co. Fred Rosenbaum, 1852, through F. S. Perkins.

20
6810 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. From Fond du Lac Co. H. Riester, 1892.

20
6811 1902–45.
Copper knife, 5 1-8 inches long, socketed. From Pike Creek, Fond du Lac Co. Gust Bager, 1896.

20
6812 1902–45.
Copper knife. From Rush Lake, Fond du Lac Co. J. Bessett, 1891.

20
6813 1902–45.
Copper knife, 6 5-8 inches long. From Eden, Fond du Lac Co. Geo. Burnhardt.

20
6814 1902–45.
Copper knife 6 inches long. Found 7 feet beneath the surface of ground, Section 22, Potosi, Grant Co. John McKeloop (McKeloep?), 1892.

20
6815 1902–45
Copper spearpoint, 9 inches long. From Grant Co.

20
6816 1902–45
Copper spearpoint, 4¾ inches long, rivet hole in socket. From Fort Atkinson, Jefferson Co. Herman Henke, 1889.

20
6817 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 4¾ inches long, socketed. Found on plowed land, Fort Atkinson, Jefferson Co. Herman Henke, 1887.

20
6818 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 3⅜ inches long, trace of silver. From Fort Atkinson Jefferson Co. Herman Henke.

20
6819 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 2 11-16 inches long, socketed. From Aztalan, Jefferson Co. Chris Schwartz, 1886.

20
6820 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 inches long, socketed. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. H. Henke, 1881.

20
6821 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 15-16 inches long, socketed. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. Herman Henke, 1879.

20
6822 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. H. Henke, 1891.

20
6823 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 5 3-4 inches long. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. H. Henke, 1875.

20
6824 1903–45.
Copper spearpoint, 8 5-8 inches long, muskrat spear. From Palmyra, Jefferson Co. W. L. Kinkaid (Kincaid?).

20
6825 1902–45.
Copper awl. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. H. Henke, 1891.

20
6826 1902–45.
Copper awl. From Fort Atkinson, Jefferson Co. H. Henke, 1896.

20
6827 1902–45.
Copper chisel, 7 7-8 inches long. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. Herman Henke, 1887.

20
6828 1902–45.
Copper awl. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. H. Henke, 1888.

20
6829 1902–45.
Copper awl. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. Herman Henke, 1880.

20
6830 1902–45.
Copper awl. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. N. H. Potts, 1889.

20
6831 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. 3 11-16 inches long. From Hebron. Jefferson Co. A. Miller, 1889. In process of manufacture.

20
6832 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. From Hebron, Jefferson Co. A. Miller 1890.

20
6833 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 15-16 inches long, socketed. From Hebron, Jefferson Co. A. Hoffman, 1890.

20
6834 1902–45.
Copper knife. From Hebron, Jefferson Co. G. Boeger (Baeger?), 1890.

20
6835 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint. Not in case. From Hebron, Jefferson Co. G. Boeger (Baeger?), 1893.

20
6836 1902–45.
Copper knife. From Lake Koshkonong, Jefferson Co. Tomson, 1895.

20
6837 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 5-16 inches long, socketed. Crudely made. Point missing. From Palmyra, Jefferson, Co. C. Powers, 1889.

20
6838 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 5-16 inches long, socketed. From Mt. Morris, Waushara Co. A. Simmonson, 1895.

20
6839 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 5-16 inches long. Hole in socket. Found in D. N. Rolfe farm, three miles north of Wautoma, Waushara Co. D. N. Rolfe, 1896.

20
6840 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 4 7-16 inches long, socketed. From three miles north of Wautoma, Waushara Co. C. Tracy, 1893.

20
6841 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint., fishtail type, 4 3-16 inches long. From Dakota, Waushara Co. Herman Rhode, 1895.

20
6842 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, fishtail type. 4 9-16 inches long. Plowed from mound on Sec. 10, Springwater, Waushara Co. Edwin R. Humphrey, 1882.

20
6843 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 3 5-16 inches long. From Wautoma, Waushara Co. Gus Torey, 1895.

20
6844 1902–45.
Copper spearpoint, 6 inches long, point missing. From Ancora, Waushara Co. Geo. Colville, 1880.

20
6845 1902–45.
Copper awl, 5 7-8 inches long. From Tustin, Waushara Co. Charles Freer.

20
6846 1902–45.
Copper awl, 7 1-4 inches long. From Tustin, Waushara Co. Charles Freer.

20
6847 1902–45.
Copper awl. From near Lake Poygan, Waushara Co. F. B. Clarke, 1895.

20
6848 1902–45.
Piece of hammered copper, small. From Rural, Waupaca Co. W. H. Potts, 1890.

20
6849 1902–45.
Three copper tubes, 3 1-16, 4 5-16, 3 3-16 inches long. From a mound, Wanshara Co. W. H. Potts.

20
6850 1902–45.
Copper disc with one perforation, 4 3-4 inches in diameter. From a mound, Waushara Co. W. H. Potts.

20
6851 1902–45.
Copper disc with one perforation, concavo-convex. From a mound, Waushara Co. W. H. Potts.

20
6852 1902–45.
Copper disc with one perforation. From a mound, Waushara Co. W. H. Potts.

20
6853 1902–45.
Copper disc with one perforation, concavo-convex. From a mound, Waushara Co. W. H. Potts.

20
6854 1902–45.
Copper disc with two perforations, concavo-convex. From a mound, Waushara Co. W. H. Potts.

20
6855 1902–45.
Copper disc with five perforations. From a mound, Waushara Co. W. H. Potts.

20
6856 1902–45.
Brass disc with two perforations. From a mound, Waushara Co. W. H. Potts.

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

and Transactions of the Wisconsin Archeological Society

Published by [illegible]

By the Wisconsin Archeological Society, [illegible], Wis.

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE

MADISON, WIS.
[illegible]
[illegible]

O CHECK KA, OR FOUR LEGS, HEAD CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, IN 1827.
From Lewis' Aboriginal Portfolio.

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

And Transactions of the Wisconsin Archeological Society

Volume 6, Number 3

July, 1907

ILLUSTRATED

Issued by the Wisconsin Archeological Society
Milwaukee, Wis.
Charles E. Brown, Secretary and Curator

Published by Authority of Law

MADISON, WIS.
DEMOCRAT PRINTING CO., STATE PRINTER.
1907.

Wisconsin Archeological Society

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Incorporated March 23, 1903, for the purpose of advancing the study and preservation of Wisconsin antiquities.

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT

W. H. Ellsworth

VICE-PRESIDENTS

R. L. Porter G. A. West A. B. Stout
Dr. Wm. Metzdorf Dr. Louis Falge

DIRECTORS

O. J. Habhegger Jos. Ringeisen, Jr.

TREASURER

L. R. Whitney

SECRETARY AND CURATOR

Charles E. Brown

COMMITTEES

SURVEY, RESEARCH AND RECORD

P. V. Lawson H. L. Skavlem Dr. A. Gerend G. H. Reynolds
G. H. Squier O. P. Olson S. D. Mitchell H. P. Hamilton

COLLECTIONS

Dr. Geo. L. Collie J. P. Schumacher Miss. Frances E. Ford
Dr. W. O. Carrier Dr. Leopold Drexel Dr. W. J. Brinkley
Dr. H. H. Schlaeger J. W. Evans

MEMBERSHIP

Chas. Bodenbach O. T. Lahman Mrs. A. J. Pierce
Horace McElroy Rev. B. G. Traudt H. D. Hill
W. H. Elkey Fred Braun

PRESS

Ellis B. Usher C. W. Lamb Miss Belle Blend C. H. Ellsworth

MAN MOUND PRESERVATION

A. B. Stout H. E. Cole J. Van Orden
E. P. Nemmers Miss Julia A. Lapham C. E. Brown

SESSIONS

These are held in the Lecture Room in the Library-Museum Building, in Milwaukee, on the third Monday of each month, at 8 P. M.

During the months of July to October no meetings will be held.

MEMBERSHIP FEES

Life Members, $25.00. Sustaining Members, $5.00
Annual Members, $2.00

All communications in regard to the Archeological Society or to the "Wisconsin Archeologist" should be addressed to C. E. Brown, Secretary and Curator, Office. 1214 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Vol. 6, No. 3.

	Page.
The Winnebago Tribe. Publius V. Lawson, L. L. B.	77

INDEX.

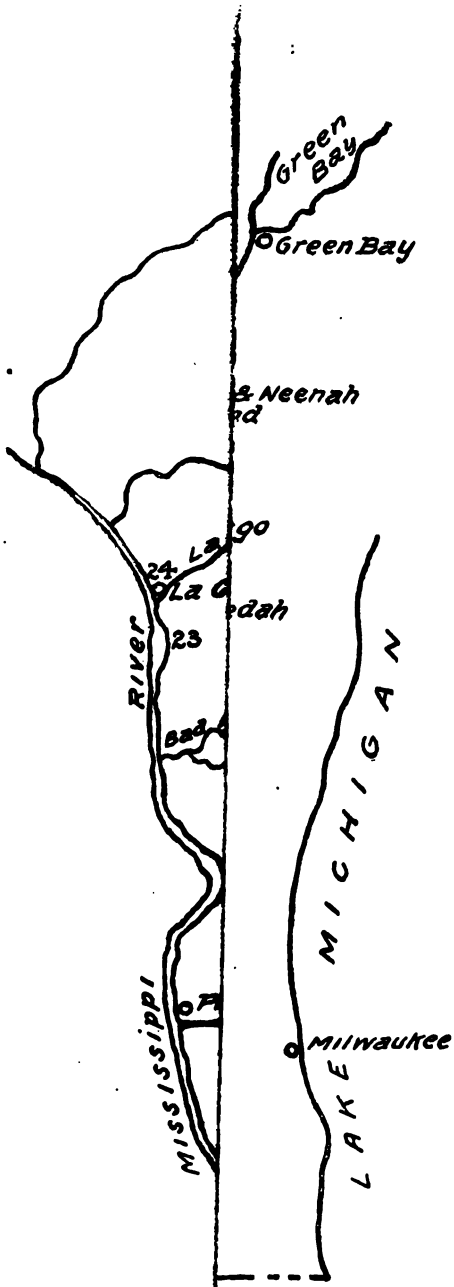
Introduction	77
The Early Home of the Siouan Tribes	78
The Siouan Migration	80
The Origin of the Winnebago Name	83
The Doty Island Habitat	86
Traditions of the Early Struggles of the Tribe	90
In the Fox Wars	94
In the French and Indian War and Conquest of Canada	99
As British Allies	99
In the Revolutionary War	100
In the Border Wars	102
In the War of 1812	102
The Treaty With the New York Indians	105
Peace Councils	105
The Winnebago War	106
In the Black Hawk War	109
The Removal of the Tribe	112
Organization	117
Manners and Customs	120
Religion	133
Outline Sketches of the Chiefs	136
Antiquities	159
Appendix	161

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

O Check Ka, or Four Legs, head chief of the Winnebago village on Doty island, in 1827 ..... Frontispiece

Sectional map of Wisconsin giving the locations of some of the Winnebago villages .....

Plate	Facing page
1. Four Legs' village on Doty island, 1830	80
2. Rassade. Glass and shell beads, Doty island village site	88
3. Shounk Chunk, or Black Wolf, chief of the Winnebago village at Black Wolf point, Lake Winnebago, 1827	96
4. Site of the Winnebago village on Doty island, 1907	104
5. Potsherds and stone muller, Doty island site	112
6. Big Hawk, chief of the Pike lake, Marathon county band	120
7. Grooved stone axe and cells, Doty island site	128
8. Blue Wing, a Wisconsin Winnebago girl, 1900	136
9. Stone celt and other implements, Doty island site	144
10. Ta ku ho he gar, or Jacob Russell, Winnebago reservation, Thurston county, Nebraska, 1906	152
11. Flint arrow and spear points, Doty island site	160



ES.

1. Doty Is'and vi ymaunce's village. 1832–42.
2. Pesheu's village, s village, 1827.
.. Black Wolf's ngton Decorah's village, 1832,
4. Smoker's village, rd Decorah's village, 1787,
.. Sarrochau's v... ed Decorah's village, 1832.
6. Rush Lake villag Decorah's village 1857.
7. Yellow Thunder's awk's village, Pike Lake,
8. *Sarcel's village,*

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

A Quarterly Bulletin Published by the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Vol. 6. MILWAUKEE, WIS., JULY, 1907. No. 3.

INTRODUCTION.

In the following brochure the author has endeavored to assemble in abbreviated form for the benefit of students and others such facts and information concerning the archaeology, ethnology and early history of the once important tribe of Wisconsin Indians known as the Winnebago, as may prove interesting and useful.

In its preparation he has freely drawn upon and attempted to properly classify the large amount of valuable data preserved in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, the reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology, and other works of value, some of which are not generally accessible. The records of the Wisconsin Archeological Society have been consulted on various points.

The author desires to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mr. Chas. E. Brown, who has very kindly assisted in the preparation of the two opening chapters, as well as those relating to the antiquities, manners and customs, religion and organization of the tribe. To Dr. W. H. Holmes of Washington, D. C., he desires to express his thanks for the loan of several of the photographs which appear as illustrations.

THE WINNEBAGO TRIBE.

PUBLIUS V. LAWSON, L. L. B.

THE EARLY HOME OF THE SIOUAN TRIBES.

The Winnebago tribe which figured so long in the history of the valleys of the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and was so prominent in the pioneer days of Wisconsin, is a member of the great Siouan family of North American Indians whose original home ethnologists have determined was on the Atlantic Coast and not in the region of west of the Mississippi river as was formerly believed. There the Siouan tribes once occupied a vast region, seventy thousand square miles in extent along the eastern foothills of the southern Alleghanies, from the Potomac on the north to the Santee river on the south, including all of central Virginia, or one half of the area of the state, and two thirds of North Carolina, and all the northeastern portion of South Carolina, with an Atlantic coast line of two hundred miles in the Carolinas. This region when it first came to be known to the whites was occupied by a large number of Indian tribes among whom were the Mohetan, Wateree, Totero, Keyauwee, Saponi, Sissipahaw, Sara, Occaneechi, Eno, Shoccoree, Woccon, Xuala, Sugeree, Catawba, Waxhaw, Wateree, Congaree, Santee, Pedee, Sewee, Winyaw, Waccamaw, Cape Fear and others, and the Monacan and Manahoac confederacies. In his monograph, "The Siouan Tribes of the East", (B. B. E.) Mr. James Mooney has assembled valuable information concerning their history and tribal synonomy. Of these tribes the Catawba were the most important. At the time of the first settlement of South Carolina (about 1682), they numbered about 1,500 warriors; in 1761, about 300 remained. In 1882, they were reported to number about 450 persons, and in 1881,

Dr. Albert S. Gatchet found about 120 persons belonging to this once brave and populous tribe on and in the neighborhood of the reservation on the Catawba river in York county, South Carolina. The present number is estimated at about 100. They are said to be poor and miserable. Of the other tribes mentioned nearly every remnant has now disappeared and some have been long extinct.

It is only in recent years that the linguistic affinities of these tribes has come to be recognized.

"For a long time the question was ignored by ethnologists, and it was implicitly assumed that they were like their neighbors, Iroquoian or Algonquian in the north and "Catawban" in the south. It was never hinted that they might be anything different, and still less was it supposed that they would prove to be a part of the great Siouan or Dakotan family, whose nearest representatives were beyond the Mississippi or about the upper lakes, nearly a thousand miles away. Yet the fact is now established that some at least of those tribes, and these the most important, were of that race of hunters, while the apparently older dialectic forms to be met with in the east, the identification of the Biloxi near Mobile as a part of the same stock, and the concurrent testimony of the Siouan tribes themselves to the effect that they had come from the east all now render it extremely probable that the original home of the Siouan race was not on the prairies of the west but amidst the eastern foothills of the Southern Alleghanies, or at least as far eastward as the upper Ohio region." (B. B. E, p. 9.)

In 1881, the Catawba, who had previously been classed as a distinct linguistic stock were visited by Gatschet "who obtained a large vocabulary showing numerous Siouan correspondences. Further investigations by Hale, Gatschet, Mooney and Dorsey proved that other tribes of the same region were also of Siouan stock." (H. A. I. 213).

"The several tribes and larger and smaller groups speak dialects so closely related as to imply occasional or habitual association, and hence to indicate community in interests, and affinity in development; and while the arts (reflecting as they did the varying environment of a wide territorial range) were diversified, the similarity in language was, as is usual, accompanied by similarity in institutions and beliefs." (15, B. E., 168.)

Thus the problem of the identity of the eastern, as well as the origin of the western Siouan tribes, has been solved.

The Siouan Migration.

The Sioux in their original domain in Virginia and the Carolinas, were surrounded on all sides by tribes belonging to the Iroquoian, Algonquian and Muskohegan stocks. With their hereditary enemies the fierce and unrelenting Iroquois, their early history shows them to have been constantly at war. This ceaseless warfare lead to the extermination of certain of the Siouan tribes, the consolidation for protection of others, and is believed to have been the great cause of the expulsion from their home region of the ancestors of the present western Sioux. It was at first assumed that this race of hunters followed the buffalo as it gradually receded westward, but this theory is now regarded as untenable. It has been shown that this noble American quadruped still ranged through the East until within the past century, whereas, some of the present Siouan tribes were already beyond the Missippi over 350 years ago. Mooney says:

"We must seek other reasons than the disappearance of the game from what was all a wilderness, keeping in mind the inherent unrest of savages and especially of the Siouan tribes. The most probable cause for this great exodus was the pressure from the north and from the south of hostile tribes of alien lineage, leaving to the weaker Siouan tribes no alternative but to flee or to remain and be crushed between the millstones. They chose to abandon the country and retreated across the mountains, the only direction in which a retreat was open to them." (B. B. E., 11.)

When the prehistoric westward migration of the Siouan tribes took place is not known. Doubtless it was of gradual progress during several centuries:

"Like most Indian migrations it was probably a slow and devious progress with no definite objective point in view, interrupted whenever a particularly fine hunting region was discovered, or as often as it became necessary to fight some tribe in front, and resembling rather the tedious wanderings of the Hebrews in the desert than the steady march of an emigrant train across the plains."

"According to the Osage tradition the emigrant tribes, after crossing the mountains, probably followed down the valleys of New river and the Big Sandy to the Ohio." "The theory of a Siouan migration down the valley of the Big Sandy is borne out by the fact that this stream was formerly known as the Totteroy, a corruption of the Iroquois name for the Tutelo and other Siouan tribes in the south." "As early as 1701 Gravier stated that the Ohio was known as "the river of the

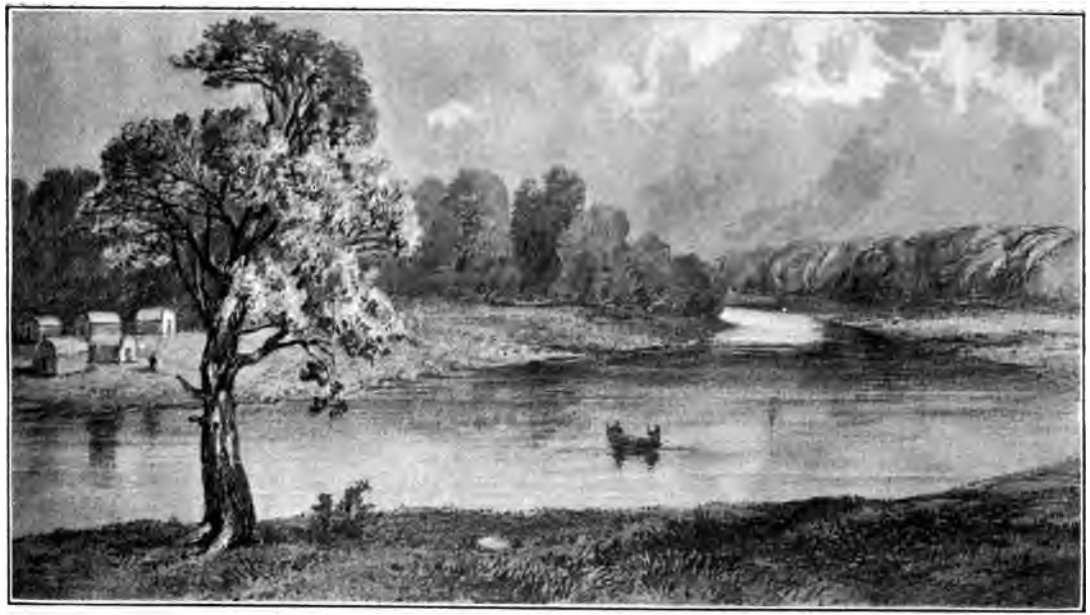


Plate I.

FOUR LEGS' VILLAGE ON DOTY ISLAND, 1830.
From Waubun.

Arkansea" because that people had formerly lived along it. The Arkansea (Arkansa or Kwapa) are a Siouan tribe, living at that time on the lower Arkansas river, but now in Indian Territory." When De Soto looked over the broad Mississippi from the Chaska mounds at Memphis in 1541, he found the "Capaha," or Kwapa or Quapaw, the southern branch of the Winnebago, "already established on the western bank, although a considerable distance above their later position at the mouth of the Arkansas." The name "Capaha" signifies people living "down the river," being the converse of Omaha.....which designates those going "up the river" (Dorsey). "More than sixty years ago Major Sibley, one of the best authorities of that period in regard to the western tribes, obtained from an aged chief of the Osage—a well known Siouan tribe, speaking the same language as the Kwapa—a statement which confirms that of Gravier. The chief said that the tradition had been steadily handed down from their ancestors that the Osage had originally emigrated from the east, because the population had become too numerous for their hunting grounds. He described the forks of the Alleghany and Monongahela rivers and the falls of the Ohio at Louisville, where he said they had dwelt some time, and where large bands had separated from them and distributed themselves throughout the surrounding country. Those who did not remain in the region of the Ohio followed its waters until they reached the mouth, and then ascended to the mouth of the Missouri; where other separations took place, some going northward up the Mississippi, others advancing up the waters of the Missouri. He enumerated several tribes which had sprung from this original migrating body. Catlin heard a similar story among the Mandan, another Siouan people living far up the Missouri, and Dorsey had since found the tradition to be common to almost all the tribes of that stock. Indeed, two of these tribes, the Omaha and Kansa, cherish sacred shells which they assert were brought from the great water of the sunrise." (B. B. E., 10)

The first separations at the mouth of the Ohio must have occurred as early as 1500, since they precede De Soto's discovery of the Mississippi river.

From the point of dispersal in the region of the Ohio valley there were probably several successive migrations. G. F. Will and H. J. Spinden (3 P. P. M.. 97-98) assert that there were probably four of these, the Mandans of North Dakota apparently leading and being "probably a number of years ahead of the other tribes." They "have fairly vivid traditions of the coming of the Hidatsa many years after the former (Mandans) had established fixed villages on the Heart River." The order of Siouan migration is by these authors placed as follows:

1. Mandan, Hidatsa, Crow.
2. Iowa, Oto, Missouri, Winnebago.
3. Omaha, Ponca, Osage, Kansa, Kwapa.
4. Dakota, Assiniboin.

They indicate that the second group, which includes the Winnebago, probably did not proceed to the mouth of the Ohio, but cut directly across Illinois to the mouth of the Missouri river. Jenks asserts that "they (the Winnebago) were the rear-guard of their kinsmen, the Dakota. (19, B. E., 1051). In this assertion he is not followed by other authors.

From opposite the mouth of the Missouri, the Iowa, Winnebago and Dakota proceeded northward along the Mississippi river. The Dakota, the last of the migrating tribes, was already in Wisconsin and Minnesota in the seventeenth century (3 P. P. M., 98).

"Traditional and linguistic evidence proves that the Iowa sprang from the Winnebago stem, which appears to have been the mother stock of some other of the southwestern Siouan tribes. Iowa chiefs informed Dorsey in 1883, that their people and the Oto, Missouri, Omaha and Ponca once formed part of the Winnebago nation. According to the traditions of these tribes, at an early period they came with the Winnebago from their priscan home.....but that the Winnebago stopped on the shore of a great lake (Lake Michigan) attracted by the abundant fish." (H. A. I., 612.)

We do not know where the Winnebago, who probably parted with the Iowa near the mouth of the Rock river or elsewhere in Illinois, entered Wisconsin. Whether they left the Mississippi and passed across northern Illinois to Lake Michigan, up the Rock, or up the Wisconsin and Fox rivers is uncertain. They are first known from Champlain's map of 1832 as located on Lake Winnebago, in eastern Wisconsin.

Prof. Cyrus Thomas, who has written on the subject of the prehistoric migration of the Siouan tribes, believes that the Winnebago came from some region north of Lake Superior, possibly from the shores of Hudson's Bay or Lake Winnepeg. On reaching the head of Lake Huron they "turned westward, passed over St. Mary's river and entered Wisconsin." The Catawba, who probably were in the lead, crossed the strait, passed down on the eastern side of Lake Michigan, and thence continued southward. The Tutelo followed by the Winnebago entered Wisconsin, the former finally following the Catawba

to the southeast. The Dakota and other divisions of the Siouan family "probably moved southward around the western end of Lake Superior. The Siouan tribes south of Lake Superior, were pressed toward the west and south by the influx of the Chippewas and other Algonquians from the northwest." (19, A. A., 11-18).

Jonathan Carver supposed as a result of his inquiries that the Winnebago came from Mexico, on the approach of the Spanish, about a century before he met them on Doty island in 1766. Their presence on Doty island before 1632, probably shows his date to be erroneous. (See 4, W. H. C., 234-35). Wau kon haw ka or Snake Skin, related to Mr. B. W. Brisbois that the Winnebago came from the southwest and that their name was Ochungra or Large Fish, one that spouted water, hence the whale. (10, W. H. C., 500).

The advance into Wisconsin from Canada of the Chippewa and other Algonquian tribes leading authorities agree succeeded the arrival of the Winnebago and Dakota. (See 19, B. E., 10388-55). Among all of these tribes the Winnebago may be accorded the honor of being probably the first to appear on Wisconsin soil.

With the entrance of the Algonquian wedge into this beautiful region of forest, prairie and lake came constant and bloody warfare, during which the Winnebago were doubtless obliged to maintain their ground for many years by exterminating revenge as shown by the published traditions of Perrot in La Potherie. The introduction of firearms in historic times made possible the driving of the Dakota from central Wisconsin and the Lake Superior region.. Notwithstanding its relationship to the Dakota, the Winnebago tribe appears in history to have frequently allied itself with its Algonquian enemies. The presence of the Sioux on the plains is given as one of the principal reasons why the Winnebago feared to emigrate to that region in recent years.

The Origin of the Winnebago Name.

Samuel de Champlain's map of 1822, the oldest map of this region, places the name "Nation des Puans," at the head of a large lake lying to the north of and discharging through a river

into Lake Superior. That this lake and stream, though topographically incorrectly located, were intended to represent Lake Winnebago and the Fox river is accepted. This map is said to have been constructed from information furnished by western Indians visiting at Quebec. The Wisconsin section of it is reproduced in connection with a recent contribution by the author entitled "Habitat of the Winnebago, 1632-1832." (1906 P. S. H. S.) In 1634, two years after the date of this map, Jean Nicolet was delegated to make a journey to a nation called "Gens de mer," or "Gens des Eaux de mer," people of the sea. The published account of his expedition gave such a vague description of the tribe and location that it was not until 1852 that John G. Shea made the discovery that Nicolet had visited Wisconsin and that the people referred to were the Winnebago. Jean Boisoeau's map, published in the year 1643, follows the main topographical features of Champlain's map placing "La nation des Puans" at the head of "Lac des Puans," and names the stream by which it discharges its waters, "R. des Puans." This map is likewise republished in connection with the before mentioned article.

Charlevoix, who visited the tribe in 1720, refers to it as "the Otchagras, who are commonly called Puans." (See 16, W. H. C., 411.) The name is also spelled Ochagras. Father Hennepin's map of 1698 gives it as "Ocitagan." (See 1906, P. S. H. S., 153).) Schoolcraft says that the Winnebago called themselves, "Hochungara," or Trout nation, and "Horoji," or Fish-eaters, (3, H. I. T., 277). The Sioux called them "Otonkah" (3, H. I. T., 277). The Hurons referred to the tribe as "Aweatsiwaenr-rhonons." (See 3, W. H. C., 137.) Allouez, who first met the tribes to write of them intelligently, spells the name "Ovenibigoutz." (See 16, W. H. C., 67.) Shea finds the name to occur in the Jesuit Relations also as Ouinibegouc, Ouinipegouec and Ouenibegoutz. (3, W. H. C., 137.)

The names most frequently employed by the old French writers in speaking of the Winnebago are "Puans" or "Puants." Various writers have endeavored to explain why the tribe was so designated. Charlevoix stated in 1720 that they were "called Puans, for what reason I do not know." Yet he did attempt an explanation:

"They seated themselves on the border of a kind of lake (Winnebago) and I judge it was there that living on fish which they got in the lake in great plenty, they were given the name of Puans; because all along the shore where their cabins were built one saw nothing but stinking fish which infected the air. It appears at least that this is the origin of the name which the other savages had given them before us, and which has communicated itself to the Bay." (See 16, W. H. C., 412.)

"Bay des Puans" was an early destination for Green Bay. Shea cites the Relations as stating that the names given the Winnebago by the Algonquian tribes refer to their "coming from the Ocean or Salt-water, which the Indians style "Fetid water." (3, W. H. C., 137.)

In 1718, Captain La Mothe Cadillac offered the following:

"The Puans derive their name from their river which is very muddy. It is full of fish, consequently in hot weather the water becomes foul with them, and putrid with unbearable stench. For this reason the nation is called Puans, though both in their person and habits they are the cleanest of the savages, and their women the least dirty, and keep their cabins clean and tidy." (See 16, W. H. C., 360.)

Of the water Allouez said, in 1670, "the water of the Bay and river is like stagnant ditch water." (do., 367.) It is possible though improbable, that two hundred years ago the Fox river and Lake Winnebago may have been stagnant; but early as well as later writers and the present inhabitants of that region all unite in pronouncing these the clearest and cleanest of waters Those who are familiar with them will find difficulty in believing the tale of the dead fish. Schoolcraft believes the name of the tribe to owe its origin to the supposed peculiar appearance of the water in both Lake Winnipeg and Lake Winnebago. These he says "have a stratum of whitish muddy clay at their bottoms which is disturbed by high winds, giving the water a whitish appearance." (4, H. I. T., 277.) No such clay exists in Lake Winnebago. In a recent publication of the State Historical Society the explanation is offered that the Winnebago, "a free translation of whose name was 'men of the sea,' the French learned later really meant 'men of the ill-smelling water,' which possibly alluded to certain sulphur springs in the neighborhood of Lake Winnepeg, whence the nation had drifted." (1905, P. S. H. S. W., 44.)

The presence of the tribe at Lake Winnipeg at any time is very doubtful. Dr. Hoffman presents a Menominee Indian

legend of the origin of the name. (14, B. E., 205.) Mrs. Kinzie explains that:

"The Winnebago from the custom of wearing the fur of a polecat on their legs when equipped for war are termed "Les Puans," or to use their own euphonious appellation "Ho Tshung rahs." (W., 63.)

The name "Puans" was frequently more roughly translated as "Stinkards." Both Radisson (1659) and Allouez (1666) refer to the lake of the "Stinkings," or "Stinkards." (11, W. H. C., 69; 16, *do.*, 55.)

Dr. J. O. Dorsey, the distinguished authority on the Siouan tribes, gives what is undoubtedly the best explanation of the native name. He says that the Siouan root, "changa" or "hanga," signifies first, foremost, original or ancestral. Thus the Winnebago call themselves Ho-tcan-ga-ra, "the people speaking the original language." (B. B. E, 15.)

The student can easily trace in the various spellings the attempts of various writers to reduce the gutteral sounds of the Winnebago name to a written language, though their explanations and definitions have often gone far astray.

If the name Ovenibigoutz (Winnebago), by which they were known to their Algonquian neighbors, had been translated at Quebec, when learned by Champlain, as meaning mean, base or vile in place of Puans, it would have more correctly expressed, as intended, the extreme disfavor of these tribes. This, the author believes, is the rational explanation of the name which has come down to us as Winnebago.

The Doty Island Habitat.

(See Plates 1, 4.)

Jean Nicolet was the first white man to visit the Winnebago. He was sent over unknown lakes and rivers, by Governor Champlain to conclude a treaty of peace between them and the Hurons of Canada. He visited them with seven Huron savages in the summer of 1634, returning home the next year. As he approached their village, word was sent in advance to announce his mission, and the Winnebago sent envoys to meet him. These gave him a warm welcome and carried his baggage. The news of his coming spread to the surrounding savages, and a great council was held which 4,000 or 5,000 Indians attend-

ed and indulged in a barbaric banquet, in which the choicest dish was six score beaver tails. This was the first council held with the Indians in the region which afterward became the state of Wisconsin. There is no contemporary narrative inspired by Nicolet which gives a hint of the place at which this council was held, or the location of the Winnebago village which was the objective point of Nicolet's voyage. We must therefore seek elsewhere for its location. We have assumed that Nicolet held the council in the village of the Winnebago, and was there entertained by the tribe. The habitat of the tribe during this period must therefore be sought from other narratives and maps, and these clearly show the Winnebago village of 1634, and for two hundred years thereafter, to have been at the foot of Lake Winnebago; and from the later accounts which give a more exact location, on Doty island, in what is now Menasha and Neenah, on the shore of Lake Winnebago. The references giving the location will be briefly stated as the author has but recently contributed to the 1906 Proceedings of the State Historical Society, an article entitled, "Habitat of the Winnebago, 1632—1832", and which is devoted to a full consideration of this matter. This paper is in opposition to an article on the same subject, by Mr. Arthur C. Neville, President of the Green Bay Historical Society and published in the Proceedings of the previous year. He contends that Nicolet found the Winnebago at Red Banks, on the eastern shore of Green Bay.

We will first refer to the cartography of the subject. Champlain's map of the year 1632, and Jean Boisoeau's map of 1643, which give the location of the Winnebago on the lake of the same name, I have already mentioned in the previous chapter.

The next map to mention the tribe is that of Marquette. His journal of the famous voyage through the Fox river valley was published in Paris by Thevenot in 1681, with his real map of the voyage. It places the "Puans" village at the foot of Lake Winnebago. This map is republished in the 1906 Proceedings, already mentioned.

The master of this voyage was Joliet, and his map also places the "Puans" village at the foot of Winnebago lake. (59 J.R.)

Father Hennepin also places the word "Ocitagan" against Lake Winnebago, on his map dated 1698. He was also a traveler among them and this is his attempt to spell their name, rendered by Charleviox as Otchagras. The maps so far mentioned are all of the Nicolet century; while those of the next century which locate the village, also all place it at the foot of the lake, which always bore their name.

The name of the lake as "the lake of the Puans", has some value in the indentification of the site of the Winnebago village, as nearly all the early voyagers approached it from Green Bay. This they named, "La Bay des Puans," because it was the route to the Puans (Winnebago). Shea tells us that the Ottawa river was thus named as the highway to that nation, though they never resided there. (3, W. H. C., 135.) According to Charlevoix, Lake Michigan was originally named Lac des Illinois, because of its being the way to approach that nation though the Illinois did not reside on the lake. (16 W. H. C., 408.) He has stated that it was the Puans of the Lake of the Puans, who "transferred" their name to the bay. Jonathan Carver has explained that the proper name of the Bay was Menomonee, the name "Bay of Puants," being merely a French "nickname" for the same. (4, W. H. C., 227.) The "Riviere des Puans" was the earliest name of the Fox river. It is found on the earliest maps as mentioned above. It is found on the maps of La Hontan of 1709, as "Riviere des Puants"; and also on another map of the year 1709, by the same author, as "R. des Puants." (4, N. C. H. A., 258-261.)

Radisson, as early as 1659, refers to it as "the great lake of the stinkings," (11, W. H. C., 69) a name by which Allouez refers to the lake in 1666; (16, W. H. C., 55) and through all the years down to this day, the lake still retains the name it bore in the very earliest narratives by variants of Winnebago. It was natural that this very large and important lake as well as this important and historic waterway should have been given the name of this important tribe, and it is impossible to show it was given for any reason except the ob-

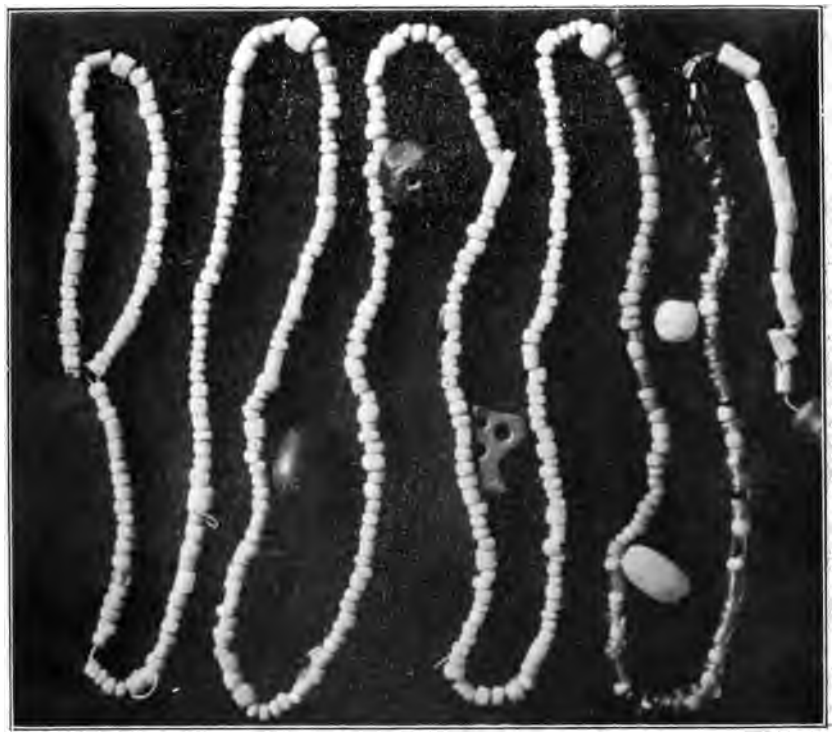


Plate 2.

RASSADE.

GLASS AND SHELL BEADS, DOTY ISLAND VILLAGE SITE.

vious one, that the tribe lived on the banks of the river and shore of the lake which bore its name.

In April 1670, Father Allouez, the first missionary to breast its rapids, entered the "River des Puans" (Fox) and proceeded to the "Lake des Puans" (Winnebago) expecting to meet the Winnebago, but found it "uninhabited on account of the "Nadouecis" (Sioux), "who are there held in fear." (See 16, W. H. C., 69.) He records that on May 13 he crossed the Bay to find "the Ovenibigoutz (Winnebago) in the clearing where they were assembling." (54, J. R., 230.) We can readily understand from these extracts that the tribe had fled its home on Lake Winnebago for fear of the Sioux and were then gathering at Green bay. Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites very aptly styles it a camp, using this language: "The Winnebago at present camping on the east shore of Green Bay". (16, W. H. C., 66.) To this war of the Sioux with the tribes of Wisconsin there are many references; (50 J. R., 163; 3, W. H. C., 125; 16, do., 95). Father Dablon refers to some tribes temporarily camping along the Bay, "driven from their own abode, the lands toward the south". (50, J. R., 163.)

Perrot visited the Fox river region for a number of years, and took some of the Puans with the other tribes to the great council at Sault Ste Marie at which St. Lusson took formal possession of the West, in the name of the French king. In 1690, while in the valley, the Fox tribes who resided on the est shore of Little Lake Butte des Morts, contemplated treachery to Perrot, and he was informed of their intentions by the "chief of the Puans", who acted as his messenger and remained his steadfast friend. This chief also advised Perrot of an intended alliance between the Fox and the Iroquois of New York, and which he was determined to prevent (16, W. H. C., 143-160).

There is no historic reference, narrative of travel or map which places the seat of the Winnebago at any location other than Lake Winnebago during the century in which Nicolet visited the region, nor until 1760, when they seem to have divided into three villages with their head village still on Lake Winnebago.

None of these villages were on Green Bay. There are however several traditions which seek to claim for some unknown date, a residence of the Winnebago at a location seventeen miles north of the City of Green Bay, on the east shore of Green Bay, at a place generally named the Red Banks, and where there was an ancient earthern embankment or enclosure. The very doubtful value of these traditions the author has fully discussed in his paper (1906, P. S. H. S., 163-65).

TRADITIONS OF THE EARLY STRUGGLES OF THE TRIBE.

The French historian, Baqueville de la Potherie, published in Paris in the year 1722, a work entitled Historie de la Amerique Septentrionale, in which interesting information of the early Wisconsin Indian tribes is preserved. It does not appear however that he ever visited the Fox river valley.

Much if not all of his material was obtained from Nicholas Perrot, a typical forest ranger, who came to Wisconsin as early as 1660, and though not a historian seems to have picked up some of the Indian history and traditions. The period covered by the extract given in the Wisconsin Historical Collections, (Vol. 16, p. 3-10) is said to embrace the years 1640 to 1660, a period which for most of the traditional history is not early enough by many years. Of the current period, the narrative, says of the Winnebago:

"A few years ago, they numbered possibly one hundred and fifty warriors. These savages have no mutual fellow-feeling they have caused their own ruin, and have been obliged to divide their own forces. They are naturally very impatient of control, and very passionate; a little matter excites them; and they are great braggarts. They are, however, well built, and are brave soldiers, who do not know what danger is; and they are subtle and crafty in war. Although they are convinced that their ancestors drew upon themselves the enmity of all the surrounding Nations, they cannot be humble. Their women are extremely laborious; they are neat in their houses, but very disgusting about their food." (p. 7.)

Reverting to their traditional history, he relates the circumstances of their fall:

"This Nation was a populous one, very redoubtable, and spared no one; they violated all the laws of nature; they were Sodomites, and even had intercourse with beasts. If a stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles. The Malhominis (Menominees) were the only tribe who maintained relations with them; they did not dare even to complain of their tyranny." (p. 4.)

So aggressive were the Winnebago that although their only arms "were stone hatchets and knives", they declared war on all the other tribes. Envoys sent to them by the Ottawa were eaten, which cruel deed so incensed the surrounding tribes that they formed an alliance and sent frequent war expeditions against the common enemy, and greatly harassed them. As a result of disagreements among themselves and the continued troublesome activities of the allied tribes, civil wars broke out among the Winnebago. For better protection against the tribes they were finally forced "to unite all their forces in one village, where they numbered four or five thousand men," but an epidemic occurred which soon reduced their number to fifteen hundred.

"Despite all these misfortunes they sent a party of five hundred warriors against the Outagamis (Fox), who dwelt on the other shore of the lake; but all those men perished, while making that journey, by a tempest that arose." (p. 4.)

We suppose that this disaster occurred on Little Lake Butte des Morts, as it has been stated that the Winnebago resided on an island, which we suppose was Doty island. The Winnebago being now greatly reduced by despair and famine, the other tribes were moved to pity by their condition and ceased to make war, and the Illinois sent 500 men, including "fifty of the most prominent persons in their nation," to carry to them a supply of provisions. These the Winnebago received "with the utmost gratitude"; but at the same time meditated sacrificing the Illinois to the shades of their dead. A large cabin was erected to lodge their guests, and arrangements made for a dance in their honor. While the Illinois were dancing their bow strings were cut, and the Winnebago "flung themselves upon the Illinois, massacred them, not sparing one man, and made a general feast of their flesh".

Reproaching themselves for this dastardly deed, and fearing the vengeance of the allied tribes, when it should become known to them, the Winnebago "resolved to abandon the place which they were occupying", and "took refuge on an Island, which has since been swept away by ice-floes." There they considered themselves safe, as the Illinois did not use canoes. The Illinois finding that their people did not return, investigated

the place and found only their bones. In order to allow a proper period for mourning for the dead:

"They deferred hostilities until the second year, when they assembled a large body of men from all Nations who were interested in the undertaking; and they set out in the winter season, in order not to fail therein. Having reached the Island over the ice, they found only the cabins, in which there still remained some fire, the Puans (Winnebago) had gone to their Hunt on the day before, and were traveling in a body, that they might not, in an emergency, be surprised by the Illinois." (p. 6.)

They followed the hunters in the dead of winter, coming up to them on the sixth day and attacking their camp.

"So vigorous was their attack, that they killed, wounded, or made prisoners all the Puans, except a few who escaped, and who reached the Malhouminis' village, but severely wounded by arrows." (p. 6.)

He again refers to these traditional events as those of "the ancestors" of the tribe as he knew them, and which we judge to refer to ancestors of the Winnebago of possibly the year 1660. There is no record to say how many years before, though it was doubtless several score, for fifty years before La Potherie published his history, Allouez had told the same story of the destruction of the Winnebago, by the Illinois:

"About thirty years ago all the people of this Nation were killed or taken captive by the Iliniouek, with the exception of a single man, who escaped, shot through the body with an arrow." (pp. 6–7.)

This would place the event in about the year 1640.

He adds that when the captives were permitted to return to their homes this one was made a "Captain of his Nation" as having never been a slave. Shea commenting on this disastrous defeat of the Winnebago says, "if this strange event took place at all, we must ascribe it to an earlier date than 1639 (1634), when visited by Nicolet, who "found them prosperous, and we can hardly suppose a tribe almost annihilated, and then restored to its former numbers in 30 years" (3, W. H. C., 137). Nicolet, it will be remembered, was sent to this then unknown region for the purpose of "making peace" between the Winnebago and the Hurons. As the Winnebago were strong enough to command that attention from Governor Champlain, Dr. Shea is quite correct in supposing the Winnebago to have been "a prosperous tribe" in 1634. The events mention-

ed in the foregoing accounts are not historical, but traditional, for assuredly they did not take place after the coming of Nicolet, as he was followed by other white men in such short periods, as to make it impossible for the occurrence of these stirring events to go unrecorded by others.

Charlevoix visited the tribe in 1720, and though a historian of note in old Canada, records the occurrence as history, though we have shown it to have taken place, if at all, more than a century before he went among them. He possibly got the story from the records of Allouez, made a half century before, though it may have been a riverside or cabin story heard by him at the time of his visit to this frontier of New France. He says:

"The Otchagras, who are commonly called Puans, formerly lived on the Shores of the Bay, ..., but they were attacked by the Illinois, who slew great numbers of them; the rest took refuge on the River of the Outagamis (Fox River), which empties into the end of the Bay. They settled upon the shores of a sort of lake (Lake Winnebago)." (p. 411–12.)

This is the only reference given by the old writers of their residence on the shore of Green Bay and is opposed to Perrot's understanding as shown from La Potherie, who asserts that they lived on an island, and that it took the Illinois six days to reach the place of their hunt, a region we suppose to have been on the Wolf and Embarras rivers (Allouez' journal graphically describes the region), where the battle was fought. We believe Perrot's relation of the tradition the most reliable, as he could speak with the Indians first hand, and had their tale sixty years earlier than the priest historian.

Charlevoix, however, adds another disaster not mentioned by the other old writers. In this same narrative he records that "sometime after" the Winnebago had settled on Lake Winnebago:

They undertook to revenge the defeat which they had suffered from the Illinois. Six hundred of their best men embarked to seek their enemy; but while they were crossing Lake Michigan they were surprised by a furious gale, which caused them all to perish." (p. 412.)

He states that "this Enterprise caused them a new loss, from which they have not recovered." The former defeat of the Winnebago it will be remembered left a great many prisoners

in the possession of the Illinois, especially women and children, and it is impossible that so large a following of the tribe may have been gathered to make this attempt to avenge their dead. This event also must be placed long before the coming of Nicolet, as otherwise some other traveler would have recorded so important an event in the affairs of so important a tribe. As all these traditional disasters of the Winnebago, probably occurred long prior to the coming of Nicolet, then if we may accept Charlevoix's statement that the tribe settled on Lake Winnebago after their defeat by the Illinois and before being drowned on their way to fight them, the tribe must have been seated on Lake Winnebago when Nicolet made his voyage seeking them.

In the Fox Wars.

The Winnebago formed the third party in an alliance between the Fox and Sauk, and were ever present with the Fox in that long battle which they waged against the French throughout the Fox river valley, and the prairies of the Illinois. This was the war intended to save the region of the golden fleece to the fur trade of France, in which the war whoop of the Foxes was heard on the other side of the Atlantic; and which Dr. Rueben G. Thwaites characterizes as:

"A dreary half century of spasmodic conflict, which absorbed the attention and helped to drain the treasury of New France, contributing not a little to her downfall."

Of the Fox Indians Bancroft remarks that they were, "a nation, passionate and untamable, springing up into new life from every defeat, and although reduced in the number of their warriors, yet present everywhere by their ferocious enterprise and savage daring." Throughout those long years of frontier warfare, the Winnebago were everywhere the silent allies of the Fox, of which the French were aware. As early as 1714, Ramezay had reported the Winnebago as friendly to the Fox, (16, W. H. .C, 301.) by which date the colonial office at Paris had determined on the extermination of that tribe. At this time Father Marest wrote the Governor that, "the Puans were sixty brave men, all boatmen."

The Winnebago were with the Fox in their raids against their own ancient enemy, the Illinois, in 1723. (16, W. H. C., 434.) In 1724, Captain De Lignery was sent up the river and called a council of the tribes at the old French fort at La Baye. The Puants, Fox and Sauk were present. The attempt then made to induce the tribes to cease their war on the Illinois was fruitless, as the Winnebago declared the Illinois retained some of their tribe as prisoners, and an exchange must be effected before a treaty could be made. However, the differences seemed to have been compromised, as at a council held by the same officer June 7, 1726, with these tribes, a treaty was concluded by the terms of which they agreed not to again harass the Illinois. (16, W. H. C., 464, 3; do., 150. Very soon after, the war broke out afresh and the frontier again resounded with the savage war cry.

In 1716, the French sent an army under De Louvigny against the Fox village, on the west shore of Little Lake Butte dss Morts, opposite the Winnebago village. The three days' battle and siege resulted in a treaty of peace, in the keeping of which however, the French had little confidence. They determined to establish a post on the border of the Sioux country to prevent an alliance of the Fox with that powerful tribe of the plains, and a convoy with soldiers and goods for trade made its way to the head of Lake Pepin for this purpose.

The journal of the expedition, made by Father Guignas, its priest, gives the following account of a visit to the Winnebago village, on August 17, 1727:

"On the third day after the departure from la Baye, very late in the evening, ..., the chiefs of the Puants came out three leagues to meet the French, with their peace calumets and with refreshments of bear's meat. On the next day, the French were received by this nation, now very small in numbers, to the sound of several discharges of musketry, and amid great demonstrations of joy. They asked us with so good grace to do them the honor of spending some time with them, that the rest of the day was granted them. There may be in this village 60 or 80 men in all; but all, both men and women very tall and well built. They are upon the borders of a very pretty small lake, in quite an agreeable place, both for situation and for the good quality of the soil, at 14 leagues (35 miles) from la Baye and 8 leagues from the Renards." (17, W. H. C., 23.)

The Fox appear then to have been on the upper Fox river.

Captain De Lignery arrived at Green Bay with his expedi-

tion against the Fox, composed of 450 Frenchmen and 1200 savages, in the month of August, 1728. While there he captured three Winnebago and a Fox Indian, whom he handed over to the tribes to be put to death. He then voyaged up the Fox river to the Winnebago village on Doty island, which had however, been abandoned several days before. He burned the wigwams and fort, and ravaged their fields of Indian corn. (17, W. H. C., 32; 5, do., 86.) In the summer of 1728, after the Fox and Winnebago had retreated up the Fox river in advance of the army of French, Iroquois, Ottawa and Chippewa, there appeared in the region of the French outpost on Lake Pepin, sixty lodges of Fox and Winnebago. The friendly proposals of the former that they be permitted to camp near the fort was rejected by the French. Finally the proposal of both that Le Sieur Jemeraye go with a delegation of several chiefs to St. Joseph river to speak in their favor, was accepted; but on their arrival there these refused to proceed to Montreal for fear of treachery. (17, W. H. C., 69.)

In pursuance of their policy to combine all the tribes against the Fox, the French in some manner won over the Winnebago, their former friends and allies. Thus we learn that in the autumn of 1729, word was brought to Quebec of an attack by the Winnebago, Ottawa and Menominee on a Fox village, in which there were killed one hundred Fox warriors and seventy women and children. Among the killed of the assaulting party were four Winnebago. (17, W. H. C., 80.) Another account gives this assault as on a party of Fox returning from a buffalo hunt, and as made by Ottawa, Chippewa, Menominee and Winnebago. The Fox village contained 80 men, all of whom were killed or burned except three. The allied Indians burned the cabins and also killed three hundred women and children. This probably occurred in the winter of 1729, as the reports are of the date of May 6, 1730. (5, W. H. C., 104.)

The Winnebago having broken with their neighbors and friends the Fox, by this treacherous and unprovoked slaughter, were now in terror for the consequences of their miserable acts. Further attempts against the Fox tribes having been projected from Quebec by the fall of 1729, Sieur Captain Marin appeared at the old French fort at La Baye, (Green Bay), and

Plate 3.

SHOUNK CHUNK, OR BLACK WOLF, CHIEF OF THE WINNEBAGO VILLAGE AT BLACK WOLF POINT, LAKE WINNEBAGO, 1827.

From Lewis' Aboriginal Portfolio.

repaired its fallen roofs. He had with him ten Frenchmen. On September 10th, the Winnebago returned from their hunt and went to Marin to assure him that they still remained faithful to the French, at the same time presenting him with three slaves. They were rewarded with gifts of powder, bullets, hatchets, guns and knives. Having ascertained that the Fox were not in their own country, the Winnebago took their families and camped on Dendo island in the Fox river, adjoining their former location on Doty island. Very soon thereafter the Fox and Sauk returned and surprised and killed some Winnebago fishermen. Then began a long siege of the Winnebago through the erection by the Fox on the Doty island water side of two forts to command the water in all directions.

In order to compensate the Fox for the loss of two of their number through treachery, and procure a cessation of hostilities the Winnebago decapitated two Menominee who were with them, and delivered to them two others. But the Fox refused to be satisfied unless they also delivered to them four of their own number. This proposal the Winnebago considered an insult, and the siege was resumed. After the fighting had continued for about six weeks, Captain Marin with five Frenchmen and thirty-four Menominee, came to the assistance of the besieged. When the treachery of the Winnebago in giving up several of their comrades to the Fox became known to the Menominee it required all of Marin's powers of persuasion to prevent their deserting from his small command and leaving the besieged to their fate. After four days of fighting with the relief party under Marin it was discovered that the Fox had raised the siege by decamping in the night. Thus were the Winnebago, who had in the meantime been reduced by famine to the eating of boiled bear skins, delivered from the enemy. Marin's force thereupon retired, the Winnebago accompanying him to Green Bay, "where they established themselves in a fort. (17, W. H. C., 89-99.)

An unknown author reports in 1736 that, "the Puans retired since 1728, to the Sioux to the number of 80."

The 30 cabins of Winnebago at the Sioux post at Lake Pepin were reported by Sieur Lintot, the commandant, as still there in October 1734. But during the previous winter, ten cabins

had detached themselves to go to the Sauk, then located on the Wapsipinicon river, (Iowa); but returned in the summer. (17, W. H. C., 207.)

The Sioux of the prairie became restless in 1736, and were discovered to have traded simply to obtain firearms and ammunition. They passed the Lake Pepin post and meeting with two Frenchmen lower down the river, scalped them. The Winnebago tried to dissuade them from their evil designs, and notified St. Pierre, the commandant, of the occurence. At about this time the commandant heard of the massacre of a French party under La Verendrye on an island in the Lake of the Woods, by the Sioux of the woods. In the winter the Sioux came to Lake Pepin in force and burned the cabins of the Winnebago and their fort, and committed other acts. In March 1737, the Winnebago sided with the Chippewa, who came to fight the Sioux.

Le Grelot, chief of the Winnebago, warned St. Pierre, who distrusted the Sioux, of the impending trouble. As the Winnebago had left with the Chippewa, it was concluded to abandon the post. (17, W. H. C., 272.)

Before 1739, after being on unfriendly relations with the Fox for ten years, the old friendship was revived, and at a council held that year in Quebec with the western savages, the Winnebago chief asked for mercy for the Fox, some representatives of whom were present. (17, W. H. C., 318.) In 1740 at a council held in Montreal, the Winnebago chief again asked for the good will of the French for "their kinsmen the Foxes and Sauk." (17, W. H. C., 325.) The next year, the Winnebago again appeared in Montreal, and reported that they had returned to their home. (17, W. H. C., 363). While at a council at Quebec in 1742, Mayomba, the chief of the Mascoutens, informed the Marquis de Beauharnois, that the Winnebago had sought refuge in their village the year before, as they feared the Fox. (17, W. H. C., 383.) At this council the Winnebago stated that half of their tribe had returned to its old home, and half was at Rock river. The latter band were notified to unite with the Fox river band in one village. Serotchon and Chelaonois, the Winnebago chiefs present, were promised medals by Beauharnois. (17, W. H. C., 407.)

In the year 1747, Sieur Clignancourt and others were granted the exclusive right to trade with the Winnebago and other tribes connected with the post at Green Bay and to aid in preserving their alliance with the French. (17, W. H. C., 452.)

In the French and Indian War and Conquest of Canada.

The influence of the coming great struggle between France and England was felt even on this farthest western frontier, and that bold warrior, Sieur Charles de Langlade, was appointed by Vaudreuil, the Governor-General of New France to organize and lead in the conflict the French and Indian forces of the Northwest. With the motley throng of western savages who participated under his leadership in the ignominious defeat near Fort Duquesne, in the valley of the Monongahela river, of General Braddock's army in 1755, there were about 100 Winnebago. They were likewise present with his command in the great council of Indian tribes with Montcalm on the banks of Lake George, in 1757; at the massacre of Fort William Henry, in the same year; at the fall of Quebec, in 1759, and probably in various skirmishes of minor import. (See 3, W. H. C., 212-17; B. B., 63-120.)

As British Allies.

After the French flag had been hauled down from Quebec, and England took all Canada under her authority, commandants and soldiers were sent west to assume command of the border posts, which had been under the gentle sway of France for over a century. Lieut. James Gorrell, who took command of the old French fort at La Baye (Green Bay), in 1762, shortly thereafter held a council with several Winnebago and Menominee chiefs, to whose tribes he promised protection and to whom he presented belts and strings of wampum for the return of certain prisoners. They requested that he provide a gunsmith to mend their arms, which were "poor and out of order." One of the Winnebago chiefs present, stated that he would send

the belt given him to two other chiefs of his tribe. During the month following, the chief of a second Winnebago village arrived and also received a belt and wampum. Gorrell reported the strength of the Winnebago depending on his post at this time, at 150 warriors, located "at the end of Puans Lake, and over against Louistonstant." The following summer (1763), when Captain Geo. Etherington, after the massacre of his garrison at the fort at Old Machinaw, sent word to Gorrell to come to his assistance with the La Baye garrison, the Winnebago were among the four tribes who formed his escourt. (1, W. H. C., 27-42.) This appears to indicate that the Winnebago did not join in Pontiac's conspiracy, as John G. Shea says they did, on the authority of the Colonial Documents. (3, W. H. C.. 137.)

In the Revolutionary War.

During the war of the Revolution, there probably was not a friend of the cause of the colonists in all Wisconsin. De Langlade, now in the red uniform of a British officer, recruited his dusky troops from among the Winnebago to join Burgoyne's invasion; but these did not remain with the English general until his surrender. (B. B., 204, 209.) The Winnebago received the war belt from Captain A. S. De Peyster in command of the fort at Old Mackinaw, and notice to hold themselves in readiness to go to the aid of Lieut. Governor Hamilton, at Vincennes, in the autumn of 1778. (11, W. H. C., 115.) In the party of savages who went down the Mississippi in the spring, to aid Hamilton, but who returned on receiving word of his surrender to Clark, there were a number of Winnebago. The border partisan Gautier, who led them, reports that "Carminis" a Winnebago chief, endeavored "to stop the young Puants," from going on the war path. (11, W. H. C., 127.) On their return to old Mackinaw with Gautier, the Winnebago went at once (June 1779) southward through Michigan on a raiding expedition. (11, W. H. C., 127-135.)

The Winnebago repaired to Montreal with other western savages under De Langlade, and returned on receiving news of the operations of George Rogers Clark, in Illinois. (B. B., 227.) When Lieut. Governor Sinclair sent the army of savages

under Captain De Langlade to the massacre of St. Louis, there was as usual, a band of Winnebago in his party. The assault on the embankment at the stone warehouse at that place was made by the Winnebago, who left one chief and three warriors dead on the parapet, four others being badly wounded, the only casualty of the expedition. (3, W. H. C., 229-332; 11, do., 147-56.) Lieut. Governor Sinclair reported, in July 1780, the sending of 60 Winnebago and other Indians to the Ohio and Wabash rivers, to intercept convoys of provisions intended for the Americans in the Illinois region. (11, W. H. C., 157.) Doubtless the Winnebago were everywhere active and faithful to the British throughout the war, though few separate reports are made on their conduct.

After the close of the Revolutionary war, the British fur traders had no intention of relinquishing the rich fur-bearing region of the Northwest and began at once to endeavor to retain the interest and friendship of the savages, by an annual distribution of presents. In 1786, the merchants of Montreal, reported to the agents of the crown that the Winnebago (Picants) numbered 600 men, their first village being only twelve leagues (30 miles) from La Bay. Being located on the main waterway to the Mississippi they were frequently troublesome to the passing traders, upon whose cargoes they levied tribute. This system of exacting presents for the right to pass up the Fox river had been practiced for many years by the Doty island Winnebago, and had been a frequent cause of strife between them and the traders obliged to pass that point. In 1787, at the instance of the same merchants, and after the session to the Americans of the region now Wisconsin, the British government sent Joseph Ainsee up the Fox river to the Mississippi with a "canoe loaded with thirteen bales of goods," for presents to the Wisconsin savages. At the Portage he "assembled all the Puants" to address them, and made to them "presents of goods, rum and tobacco." His report gives the number of the Winnebago as 340 men. (12, W. H. C., 78-91.) Dr. Jedediah Morse states that the Winnebago continued to receive presents from the British at Drummond's island up to as late as 1820.

In the Border Wars.

The disquiet of the frontier Indians, inspired by British agents, finally resulted in the sending of General Anthony Wayne into the border lands of Ohio, where he fought several successful battles with the savages. The most desperate and successful of these being the battle of Fallen Timbers, fought near what is now Maumee City, Ohio, on August 20, 1794. The Winnebago participated in these border outbreaks and were among the savages defeated in this disastrous battle. (3, W. H. C., 137).

When the Prophet, the brother of the Shawnee chief Tecumseh, was assisting in organizing the Western savages in 1810, he instructed them to refuse to sell meat to the whites, and many of the Winnebago appear to have obeyed his instructions. Louis Bauprez, a trader, who wintered on the Lemonweir, in Wisconsin, in 1810-11, nearly starved because the Indians refused to sell meat, and Augustin Grignon, who was trading on the Pine river, could get no meat from either the Winnebago or Menominee. (3, W. H. C., 268).

At the battle of Tippecanoe, fought on November 7, 1811, and in which nearly one thousand Indian warriors representing various tribes participated, the Winnebago were lead by their chiefs. (15, O. A. H. Q., 477.) Mr. William J. Snelling relates that he remembers a Winnebago at the Wisconsin portage, who met travelers with a human hand dangling on his breast. He had taken it from an American soldier at Tippecanoe. He stated that sixty Winnebago were killed in that battle. (5, W. H. C., 142.)

In the War of 1812.

The last war with England was declared on June 19, 1812. Before it was possible to reinforce the small American garrison at Fort Mackinac, on the island of that name, it was surprised and captured. In its capture, on July 17, a large body of Indians raised by Col. Robert Dickson, and consisting of about

one hundred Sioux, about one hundred Menominee, and a still larger body of Winnebago under the Teal, One-eyed Decorah and other chiefs of that tribe, participated. After the capture, the Sioux and Winnebago returned to their villages. (3, W. H.. C., 268-69.) The fort was held during the war by the British and through it the savages of Wisconsin were constantly recruited to add to the horrors of the struggle.

In the spring of the following year, when Dickson again rallied the Indians for war, there sailed out of the Fox river in his train besides the Sioux and Menominee, a considerable band of Winnebago under their chiefs, Old Decorah, Carrymaunee, Winnoshiek, Pesheu, or the Wild Cat, Sausamaunee, Black Wolf, Sarcel or the Teal, and Neokautah or Four Legs, with Micheal Brisbois as their interpreter. Arriving at Fort Meigs too late to participate in the action they retired to Detroit, from whence they sailed under Proctor and Dickson to Sandusky and attacked the fort so gallantly defended by Major George Croghan. (3, W. H. C., 269.) In June 1813, Dickson arrived at Mackinac from a long sojourn among the Wisconsin tribes, bringing with him 600 savages and their families, to be sent to General Proctor as a part of his force. There were 130 Winnebago in the party. (12, W. H. C., 146.) After eating nearly all of Proctor's available provisions and committing wanton depredations on the settler's stock, the Wisconsin Indians returned home. During the winter of 1813-1814, a delegation of them visited Quebec where they were warmly welcomed by Sir Geroge Prevost. The Winnebago were represented by "Lassammic." (12, W. H. C., 151.) This name probably refers to the chief Cariminie or Karraymaunee.

The expedition under the British Colonel Wm. McKay, which surprised and captured Fort Shelby at Prairie du Chien July 17, 1814, had with it a band of 100 Winnebago under their chiefs "Pesheu or the Wild Cat, Sarcel of the Teal, Carrymaunee, Winnosheek, Sar ra chau, Sau sa maunee, Neo kautah or Four Legs, and Black Wolf." As McKay's fleet of barges and canoes floated down the Wisconsin, a Winnebago was in the party of scouts who went under cover of night into the town and captured a citizen whom they carried away to get informa-

tion. In deploying before the fort the Winnebago took post above it. Two of the Winnebago discovering some hams in a house mounted to the roof and began tearing off the shingles to gain an entrance, when they were both shot in the thigh. (3, W. H. C., 272.) On the second day of the siege, Col. McKay assembled the Indian chiefs and requested their consent to an assault; but the Winnebago chief Sarcel, demurred, saying he and his people remembered taking part with the English in an assault on an American fort, in which they were beaten back with terrible slaughter. (Dr. Draper supposes this was at Fort Recovery, in 1793.) Sarcel proposed to dig a trench and blow up the fort, to which Col. McKay agreed; but after a few hours labor the Indians tired of the work and refused to proceed. Just before the time appointed for the Americans to give up their arms, a Winnebago cut off the finger of a soldier whose hand was thrust through a port hole to him in a friendly greeting. (3, W. H. C., 277.)

In his reports Colonel McKay mentions the Winnebago as in the Indian contingent, and says of them, that they were "perfectly useless to him," and severely criticises them. He states that they would not receive an officer's orders unless he "held a blanket in one hand and a piece of pork in the other." (11, W. H. C., 267.) Colonel Robert Dickson on his way to the British garrison at Prairie du Chien with goods and provisions, in the fall of 1814, was caught by the freezing of Lake Winnebago, at Doty island, and forced to remain through the winter. In the spring he wrote that he would move as soon as he could, "as the Winnebago were beginning to draw around, and one had as well be in hell as with them."

After the establishment of peace the British held a council (June 3, 1815) at Mackinac, in which Sausamaunee, Black Wolf, Neokautah or Four Legs and forty warriors participated. Sausamaunee was the orator for his people, and his speech is recorded (10, W. H. C.,143). Judge Lockwood reports the number of the Winnebago in 1816, as estimated by the traders at 900 warriors. (2, W. H. C., 178.)

The treaty made with a portion of the Fox tribe Nov. 3, 1804, which caused so much dissatisfaction among them. was confirmed at a council held at St. Louis, on May 18, 1816, at which

the Winnebago who were present; residents along the Wisconsin, confirmed that part of the treaty which was supposed to grant their rights to the lands of the lead region.

The Treaty With The New York Indians.

The history of the immigration of the New York Indians to Wisconsin is a long story and would fill several volumes. The Winnebago were involved in the movement by the range of their landed possessions or claims. General Albert G. Ellis, who came to Green Bay with Rev. Eleazer Williams and the Oneida delegation, has given the details of the immigration in several papers (7, W. H. C., 224; 2, do., 425). The Winnebago and Menominee, on August 18, 1821, granted to the New York tribes a ribbon of land stretching diagonally across the state, five miles wide, the strip crossing the Fox river at Little Chute. At this time the Menominee claimed all Green bay and the shore of Lake Michigan to the mouth of the Milwaukee river, and west to the Mississippi river in a northwest direction. The Winnebago claimed all the balance of the state north and west of the Fox river and Lake Winnebago (2, W. H. C., 425). The following summer, the New York Indians returned to urge a larger grant; but this the Winnebago refused to do and left in a body to go on their hunt. Before leaving, however, they were induced to favor the visitors with an exhibition of their war dance, pipe dance and begging dance, which are graphically described by Gen. Ellis (7, W. H. C., 224).

Peace Councils.

In September, 1825, there was assembled by Governor Lewis Cass, at Prairie du Chien, a great council of western savages to determine the boundary lines of their possessions and to confirm the peace between them and the United States. At this council 5,000 Indian warriors of the Winnebago, Dakota, Chippewa, Fox, Sauk, Menominee, Iowa, Ottawa and Pottawatomi tribes were present.

On August 11, 1827, a treaty was concluded at the Little Butte des Morts (Hill of the Dead), on the west bank of a lake of the same name, in Winnebago county, by the provisions of which the Winnebago, Menominee and the New York Indians, ceded to the United States, their lands in the Fox valley. Governor Cass and Col. Thos. L. McKinney were the commissioners (12, W. H. C., 27). Of this council J. O. Lewis the artist, painted a picture, which is republished in an early volume of the Wisconsin Archeologist (2, W. A., 46).

This council was held during the Winnebago war, so-called. It was attended by five thousand savages. Colonel Whistler while on his journey up the Fox river from Fort Howard to join Gen. Atkinson at Portage, remained with his regiment at the Little Butte des Morts as the Governor's guard until the close of the council, when he resumed his journey up stream. During the council the Winnebago were notified that they must give up the murderers.

The Winnebago War.

The Winnebago war took place in 1827. It was not a war, but only a wide spread scare to the few pioneers, who had come to settle in the far away lands of the west. Those who mention the events of that day generally agree that the energetic movements of Governor Cass, and the promptness of the militia under Colonel Henry Dodge, and the dispatch of General Atkinson of the United States army, filled the Winnebago with such respect for the power of the United States that the incipient disturbance was quelled before it had barely commenced. As there were at that time nearly seven thousand Winnebago they could probably have set the torch to the entire frontier before being conquered. At that period there was a small settlement at Green Bay, another at Prairie du Chien, and possibly seven hundred people in the lead region, south of the Wisconsin river.

In the winter of 1826, the Winnebago became restless, and Mr. M. Brisbois of Prairie du Chien, a trader, became alarmed and warned the settlers that he feared outrages from the tribe. In March, 1827, a half-blood named Methode had gone

with his wife and five children up the Yellow Creek, on the Iowa side of the Mississippi river. As they did not return after the sugar season closed, a party went to look for them. They found his camp burned, and Methode and his family burned so badly that it was impossible to determine if their death was accidental or not. Judge Lockwood thought that the outrage ought not to be charged to the Winnebago, though it was generally believed that Red Bird, a Winnebago murdered them. In October 1826, Fort Crawford was abandoned, and the soldiers ordered to Fort Snelling, taking with them two Winnebago prisoners. The departure of the troops was supposed by the Winnebago to be occasioned by alarm for their safety, and they became still more insolent to the settlers, and did not make prompt settlements with the traders. In the spring of 1827, while Hole in the Day, a Chippewa chief, was at Fort Snelling with a part of his band, on business with the commander, a Sioux shot a Chippewa just outside the walls of the fort. Col. Snelling permitted the Chippewa to give the Sioux a run for his life between the lines of armed Chippewa warriors, which resulted in his death. Rumors of this event swiftly spread among the savages in the forest, and in some manner was changed to make the Winnebago believe that the two prisoners of their tribe had been executed.

Red Bird, a Winnebago Indian, named from an Engish red coat which he always wore, had on June 26, 1827, entered Judge Lockwood's house by the cellar kitchen, with two other Winnebago, loaded their guns in the presence of the servant girl, then passed through the hall and entered Mrs. Lockwood's bedroom, where she sat alone. She fled through the rooms into the adjoining store followed by the Indians, who were there induced to leave. They then went two miles out of the village to the home of Rizeste Gagnier and shot him. They also shot Lipcap, a retired soldier, who was at work hoeing in the garden near the house. During the confusion Mrs. Gagnier seized a gun, and with her three-year-old son on her back, jumped from the window and fled to the village with the startling news. A one year old daughter left in the house, was scalped and thrown

under the bed. The people at Prairie du Chien now greatly alarmed, gathered at the Brunet tavern, and barricaded it.

At night there came into the village a keel boat, returning from a voyage to Fort Snelling with supplies, which had on board a dead Indian, two dead men of the crew, and four wounded. The boat had been attacked by Winnebago Indians near the mouth of the Bad Axe river, and riddled with shot. This incident created additional alarm among the inhabitants, and that night sentinels were posted within the breastworks.

On the following day a sort of military organization was effected and all were ordered to move with their families and goods to the abandoned Fort Crawford. This was soon put into the best possible order for defense, the condemned muskets found there being repaired by the blacksmiths and other precautions taken to withstand an attack by the Indians. A count of those present found ninety men and women able to handle a musket.

Gov. Lewis Cass, who was to hold the council with the Winnebago at the Hill of the Dead, opposite Menasha, hearing rumors of discontent among them, arrived at Prairie du Chien on July 4, and putting the military defense in such order as he could, hurried on to Galena, where he arranged for a company of militia to proceed to and assist in the defence of Fort Crawford. He then went to confer with Gen. Atkinson at St. Louis; who immediately moved up the Mississippi with the disposable force under his command, and continued up the Wisconsin to the Winnebago village at Portage, while Colonel Henry Dodge marched with a volunteer force, overland to the same place; and Colonel Snelling came down the Mississippi river, and took command at Fort Crawford (2, W. H. C., 154).

The command of Colonel Whistler, which had come up the Fox river from Fort Howard at Green Bay, were the first to arrive at the Portage. They encamped on the ground where Fort Winnebago was erected in the following year. In the meantime the Winnebago had learned of the coming of General Atkinson's force and became convinced of the uselessness of resistance on their part. A few days after Colonel Whistler's arrival a party of Winnebago warriors lead by Karra mau nee and singing the death song, advanced toward his camp and

there delivered into his hands Red Bird and two other Indians, We kau, or the Sun and Chic hon sic or Buffalo Calf, whom they announced to be the perpetrators of the recent murders (4, W. H. C., 173). Colonel Thomas L. McKinney, who was present, has described this scene in graphic language and furnished a complete character sketch of the principles (5, W. H. C., 178). After the delivery of the prisoners, old Gray-headed Decorah, a leading chief, gave to General Atkinson assurance of the friendly feeling of the Winnebago toward the United States, and disavowed any connection with the murders on the Mississippi (2, W. H. C., 167). The several military commands then returned to their stations or homes, and the frontier was once more at peace. The prisoners were detained at Prairie du Chien. Red Bird died in prison before his trial. We kau and Buffalo Calf were convicted and sentenced to be hung. On November 3, 1828, a pardon was granted them by President John Quincy Adams (3, W. H. C., 335; 5, do., 202).

In the same year the war department ordered the erection at the portage, of Fort Winnebago, as a protection of the frontier against possible future depredations of the Winnebago (14, W. H. C., 71). In 1829, a council was held with the tribe at Prairie du Chien, and at which the cession to the United States of the lead region made in a treaty at the council held at Butte des Morts, in 1827, was confirmed.

Mrs. John Kinzie reports that in 1830 there were two divisions of Winnebago Indians one receiving its annuities from the agent at Portage, and the other at Prairie du Chien. The Portage division numbered between four and five thousand (W. 80). At the Winnebago payment at Portage in 1834, Mr. Henry Merrell says there assembled upwards of three thousand men, women and children, (7, W. H. C., 376). James McCall reported the Winnebago to number about 4,000 in 1830 (12, W. H. C., 192).

In The Black Hawk War.

The terror among the white settlers of Illinois and Wisconsin at the outbreak of this war, in 1832, was widespread, some of them abandoning their homes never to return. There was

a general fear of the probable action of the Winnebago, who had always been deemed a source of danger.

The prevailing sentiment concerning them at this time may be gathered from the published recollections of Col. Charles Whittlesey, a keen observer of the Indians he passed among:

"The Winnebago is the reverse of a Menominee. Tall in figure, haughty in his mein, proud of his nationality, and ever ready for war, he indulges in less drink and idleness than his neighbor, practices theft and murder and repulses the advance of the white man. We have too often seen his treachery and duplicity. Though professedly friendly, they acted as purveyors and spies to the Sauks and Foxes during the entire campaign. For this reason, they were refused admittance into the forts at Green Bay and Winnebago, which apparently grieved them very much. But they only waited for a safe opportunity to appear as belligerents among Black Hawk's band. The rations dealt out occasionally to friendly Indians, at the frontier posts, were by them carried into the Sauk camp. Many of the murders charged to the latter, were actually committed by them, and particularly the cattle and goods so frequently stolen from settlers by supposed enemies, were in truth appropriated by these professed friends." (1, W. H. C., 74-75.)

During the war on May 25, 1832, a council was held by Colonel Henry Dodge with the Winnebago to discover their sympathies in the disturbances, and Colonel Gratiot the agent, urged the tribe to remain at peace. Dr. L. C. Draper locates the place of holding this council at Wallis Rowan's trading post, six miles northwest of Madison, a short distance below the mouth of Peena or Pheasant Branch. Upon the return of Colonel Dodge from the council with the militia companies, and when within three miles of the Blue Mounds fort, he received intelligence of the delivery of the Hall girls who had been made prisoners at the massacre on Indian Creek, near Ottawa, in Illinois, and for whose ransom Gen. Atkinson had offered a reward of $2,000.00. Chief White Crow, or the Blind, and his band of Winnebago had brought them into the fort, having secured them from Black Hawk's band.

While the army was trailing Black Hawk up the Rock river, with White Crow acting as guide for the detachment of militia under Colonel Dodge, it was supposed that he was leading the army into an ambush; because it was found that Black Hawk held a defensible position on a high declivity sloping to Rock river at a point full of large boulders, at Lake Koshkonong, and desired to bring on an engagement at that place

where he might have the advantage of position (2, W. H. C., 336-354).

Paquette, the Portage trader, who was himself a half blood of Winnebago mother, acted as interpreter for the Winnebago scouts with Dodge's command. At the battle of Wisconsin Heights, the Winnebago all took to the trees except Paquette, White Pawnee, and a son of White Crow, who fought in the open with the white troops (2, W. H. C., 410).

Thomas P. Burnett, sub Indian agent to the Winnebago, stationed at Prairie du Chien, in his letters of the period notices the peculiar actions of the Winnebago in the summer, prior to the Black Hawk trouble. He supposed they seemed hostile. He noticed they sent old men, women and children up the Mississippi river, and purchased more powder than usual (2, W. H. C., 252). By order of Gen. Atkinson, Burnett and John Marsh went up the Mississippi, on May 30, 1832, to bring down the Sioux tribes to the assistance of the army. On the upward trip they called at the village of the Winnebago on the La Crosse river, and invited them to join with the Sioux and General Atkinson's army, on the Rock river. They arrived at the Winnebago village on the evening and that night discussed the matter with the chiefs and braves.

"*Win-o-she-kan* was opposed to the measure, and declined having anything to do with it. He said the Sauk had twice this season, presented the red wampum to the Winnebago at Portage, and that they had as often washed it white, and handed it back to them; that he did not like that red thing; he was afraid of it. *Waudgh-ha-ta-kan* took the wampum, and said that he with all the young men of the village would go; that they were anxious to engage in the expedition and would be ready to accompany us on our return." (2 W. H. C., 257-256.)

On their return they were accompanied by eighty Sioux, and twenty Winnebago from La Crosse.

Mr. Burnett was ordered up the Mississippi, (July 25, 1832) to secure all of the Winnebago canoes to thus prevent their use by Black Hawk for escape across the river. We kon Decorah was on the boat with Burnett. They proceeded up the river on the steamboat Enterprise, with a military command, going sixty miles above Prairie du Chien. Here he found Washington Decorah with the principal part of his band from the Wisconsin and Kickapoo rivers. At the lower mouth of Black

river he found One Eyed Decorah and Little Thunder. Winneshiek and Wau mar nar sar had gone up the river with part of the band to hunt and dry meat. The canoes were secured and the party returned (2, W. H. C., 257, 261).

The destruction by the United States troops and militia of the Sauk leader's worn-out followers, at the mouth of the Bad Axe river, on the banks of the Mississippi, in August 1832, furnished the closing scene of the Black Hawk war. Black Hawk and the Prophet escaped to the Wisconsin river dells and sought refuge among the Winnebago. They were delivered to Agent Street at Prairie du Chien, on August 22, by two Winnebago braves, Chaetar and One-eyed Decorah.

By the treaty of Fort Armstrong, Rock Island, concluded September 15, 1832, at which General Scott and Governor Reynolds were the commissioners, it was stipulated that the government should maintain a school for the education of Winnebago children for a term of twenty-seven years, at or near Prairie du Chien. The buildings were erected in 1833, on Yellow river, Iowa; and President Jackson appointed Rev. David Lowry, a Presbyterian minister, to assume charge (2, W. H. C., 147).

In 1834, the smallpox broke out in the tribe, nearly one-quarter of the Winnebago dying during the epidemic. The medicine men were powerless to stay its ravages, and the pest swept through the villages, the survivors fleeing before it, leaving their dead unburied (12, W. H. C., 401).

The Removal of The Tribe.

On November 1, 1837, a treaty was concluded with the Winnebago at Washington, by the provisions of which they ceded to the United States all of the balance of their lands on the east side and certain interests on the west side of the Mississippi river, and agreed to remove to a portion of tract of land known as the Neutral Ground in Northeastern Iowa, set aside for them in the previous treaty of September 15, 1832 (18, B. E., 736-768). This treaty of 1837 was loudly proclaimed by the tribe to be a fraud. It was stated that the delegation which visited Washington in that year had no authority to execute

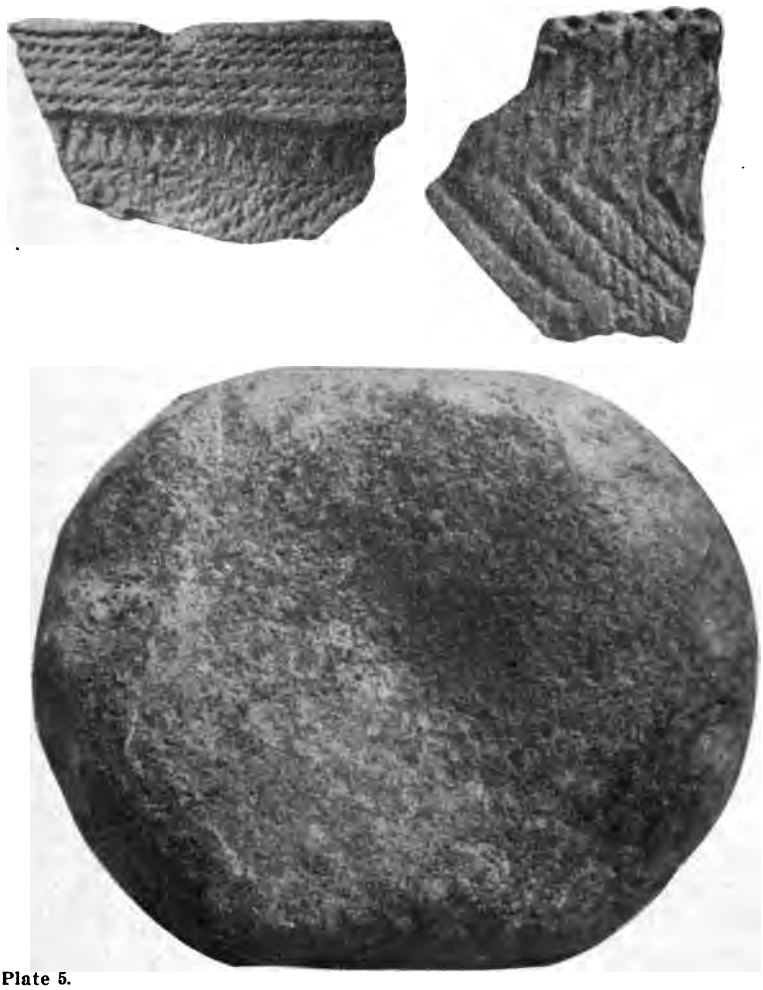


Plate 5.

POTSHERDS AND STONE MULLER, DOTY ISLAND SITE.

such an instrument. Chief Yellow Thunder and others, who were of this party, all so declared (7, W. H. C., 373).

The first attempt to remove them from Wisconsin to the west side of the Mississippi was made in 1840, when a considerable number were induced to move to the Turkey river, to the Neutral Ground. That year a portion of the Fifth and Eighth regiments of U. S. infantry came to Portage to conduct their removal. Antoine Grignon, Pierre Meneg and J. T. De La Ronde were connected with this force as interpreters. Meneg was sent to secure Yellow Thunder and a son of Black Wolf, which he accomplished by inviting them to come to Portage for provisions. On their arrival they were arrested and placed in the guard house, with a ball and chain on their ankles. This proceeding greatly hurt their feelings. It had been understood that they refused to emigrate and were about to revolt. On the arrival of Governor Dodge they were released after promising faithfully to return to Portage within three days, ready for removal. This promise they kept. Two large boats were provided to transport the Indians down the Wisconsin river to Prairie du Chien. Captain Summer was sent down the Rock, then to Madison and to the Fox river to bring in other bands. He secured 250 Winnebago, who were also taken to Prairie du Chien. At and near the head of the Kickapoo he encountered several small camps, the incidents attending the removals of which are quite pathetic and are told by De La Ronde in the Wisconsin Historical Collections (7, 362-63).

The Little Decorah had established a village on the Iowa river, Iowa, in 1840. The Mission school was removed in that year, from the Yellow river to the Turkey river on the reservation (12, W. H. C., 405).

On October 13, 1846, the Winnebago ceded "all claim to land" and especially to their rights on the Neutral Ground and were given a tract of land selected by the chiefs at Long Prairie on the Mississippi river, just above St. Cloud, in Minnesota. But the tribe were not satisfied with the location, and the most of them remained scattered throughout the country (19 B. E., 680; U. M., 188). At this time, there remained considerable bands in the picturesque valleys of the Wisconsin, Fox, Kickapoo, Black and Lemonweir rivers in Wisconsin. Mr. Henry

M. Rice secured the contract to remove these to Minnesota and employed Moses Paquette and others to assist him. Paquette visited the camps on the Lemonweir and at La Crosse, and persuaded many of their members to repair to La Crosse for shipment by boat to St. Paul, whence they were conveyed in wagons to the reservation (12, W. H. C., 407-408).

At Winona prairie they grew obstinate and threatened trouble, but were finally induced to move peaceably. A council held with the chiefs of the Dakota at this time is described in te Minnesota Historical Collections (8, 384-85). Winneshiek was the head chief of the Winnebago. The deliberations and the accompanying feast lasted for several days, and were 'closed with a wedding the Winnebago giving one of their beautiful maidens to some noted brave of the Sioux. The presents given to the bride were quite valuable." About thirteen hundred were removed to Minnesota at this time, leaving, it was estimated about four hundred still remaining in Iowa and Wisconsin. Others were removed in 1850 (7, W. H. C., 394).

In 1853, a new treaty was made, by which they were allowed to remove to the Crow river. This treaty was not ratified because of the remonstrance of the people of Minnesota (U. M., 188.) On February 27, 1855, they ceded their Long Prairie reservation and were granted a tract of land eighteen miles square on the Blue Earth river, just south of Mankato, in southern Minnesota (19, B. E., 804). They settled here in the spring of that year and immediately began the erection of dwellings and improvement of the land. The teacher of the reservation school reported in 1860 the enrollment of 118 pupils. In the midst of their prosperity, in June, 1862, came the "Sioux massacre," which completely wrecked their future prospects. Although they took no part in that affair, and even though they offered to the government their services in punishing the Sioux, the frightened inhabitants of Minnesota demanded their removal (U. M., 138).

By a special act of Congress (Feb. 21, 1863), they were hastily removed in a scandalous manner and suffering great hardships, in May and June of that year, to Ushers Landing, on the Missouri river, in South Dakota. (12, W. H. C., 410). At the time of this removal, the old chiefs, Decorah, Winne-

ɛ, Dandy and their families, and other members of the tribe, to Wisconsin. By order of the President (July 1, 1863), ɜ was set aside for them a reserve just below Pierre, and ining the Crow Creek reserve of the Sioux, on the east side ıe Missouri river, in South Dakota. Here they became tly dissatisfied with the nature of the soil and water and ack of timber, and were reported to be engaged in making es with the intention of leaving to join the Omaha and other s down the Missouri river. The Indian agent of the Oma- eservation, in northeastern Nebraska, reported in October, ', the continued arrival of small parties of Winnebago, very destitute condition. For these he was instructed to

On March 8, 1864, the Dakota reservation was ceded to the government, and by September of that year, 1200 nebago had arrived at the Omaha reservation. These were ided with a tract of land for temporary residence and cul- ion. On March 6, 1865, they purchased a large section of Omaha lands. On June 22, 1874, a second tract was pur- ɜd from that tribe. In August 1865, the superintendent .e reservation reported the Winnebago as being "character- ' by frugality, thrift and industry to an extent unequalled ny other tribe of Indians in the Northwest (19, B. .E., 834; 12, W. H. C., 410; U. M., 189-91)..

. 1873, a last attempt was made by the government to re- › the one thousand or more Winnebago, estimated to be still .ining in Wisconsin. Captain Hunt, who was in ge of the removal sent runners to all of the s with notice to report at Sparta for shipment Nebraska. But it was found necessary to employ military, who found Big Hawk with thirty others .ng a feast at the Baraboo river. On their refusal to leave put handcuffs on Big Hawk, who made no resistance. They all marched into Portage, and there put aboard the cars. ɜ others were found on the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. In ı camps the troops found only women and children whom marched off, the men following them when they returned. .t hardship was suffered by all of the Indians, many dying ıe way and others from exposure after reaching Nebraska. ral hundred Winnebago were removed, but many more re-

mained and returned. As much popular indignation was shown because of the manner of these removals, no attempt has since been made to disturb the Winnebago, who persistently cling to their native woods and streams (12, W. H. C., 417).

In 1883, a census of the Wisconsin Winnebago was completed and annual payments are now made to them at Black River Falls, Stevens Point, Tomah and Hatley. Big Hawk, a chief and descendent of Kayrahmaunee, who with his band had a homestead on Pike Lake, in Marathon county, refused the government payments until one W. H. Lee, a lawyer of Stevens Point, should be paid for his services to them. The number of Winnebago enrolled in Wisconsin in 1887 was about 1,500. These have been provided with homesteads which are chiefly in Jackson, Adams, Marathon and Shawano counties. Here they manage to live by picking blueberries, huckleberries and cranberries, raising small crops, fishing and hunting. Large families are the rule among them. Green Grass, a son of Kayrahamaunee, came to the payment at Black River Falls, to draw for 15 children, but as he could not count or name them, Major Hallack, the agent, had him bring them in and stand them in a row.

In a letter to the author, dated Jan. 26, 1907, Hon. C. F. Larrabee, Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington, D. C., states that:

"The Winnebago as a tribe have due them $883,249.58 under their treaties of 1837, and the act of July 15, 1870, which has not been capitalized and placed in the treasury as a trust fund. Congress annually appropriates five per cent interest on the principal, amounting to $44,162.47. The Wisconsin band receives 1180–2613 of that amount which is paid them in cash. They also receive $7,000 each year from that amount to equalize their payments with the Nebraska branch, under the Act of 1881. Under that Act they have received $147,000; and $73,969.91 is yet due them in yearly installments of $7,000. The Nebraska branch receives yearly $10,000 in cash for per capita payments; and after this, and the amounts due the Wisconsin branch are deducted, the remainder is subject to expenditure for supplies for the Nebraska branch. Eventually the Wisconsin branch will receive their share of the principal after it has been capitalized and segregated."

There are at this time 1.180 Winnebago residing in Wisconsin, and 2,613 in Nebraska, making a total of about 4,000 Winnebago now living. This shows an increase in 200 years of sev-

en hundred per cent, due to enforced peace, notwithstanding the natural decimation due to disease, famine and whiskey. The following information is given in a letter to the author from Hon. T. M. Compton, Superintendent of the Government Indian School at Tomah, Wis., Feb. 1, 1907.

About ten children of the Wisconsin Winnebago attend Bethany Mission school at Wittenberg, opened in 1895, and about 100 have attended the government school at Tomah each year since it was opened in 1893. On the reservation in Nebraska, 82 children attend the government boarding school, opened in 1901. There are also 15 public schools either on the reservation or near enough to be attended by Indian pupils. The parents take but little interest in schools, and the children never attend regularly. Three full blood Winnebago have graduated from Tomah. One is dead, and the other two are attending at Hampton, Va.

Organization.

To designate the stock or race to which the Winnebago and related Indian tribes belong, the Bureau of American Ethnology has adopted the name Siouan, and to the grand division popularly known as the Sioux, has employed the term Dakota, which that people claim for themselves and which means "our friends." The term Sioux is derived from "Nadowessioux, a Canadian French corruption of Nadowessi-wag ("the snake-like ones, or enemies"), originally applied to the plains Indians by the Algonquian tribes."

Dr. W. J. McGee gives a tabulation (15, B. E.) of the grand and tribal divisions of the Siouan stock. For the sake of brevity, I have in giving his classification, which is based on the extended researches of the Bureau, omitted the tribes included under the last five of the grand divisions, and other matter of no present importance.

1. Dakota-Assiniboin
   - Dakota
   - Assiniboin
2. Cegiha
   - Omaha
   - Ponka
   - Kwapa
   - Osage
   - Kansa
3. Ioiwere.
   - Iowa
   - Oto
   - Missouri
4. Winnebago
5. Mandan
6. Hidatsa
   - Hidatsa
   - Crow
7. Biloxi
8. Monakan
9. Catawba
10. Sara
11. (?) Pedee..

Of the organization of tribes, other than those known, under the Winnebago and Mandan grand divisions, if such existed, no information is available.

At the time of our earliest knowledge of the Siouan peoples they "were practically out of the stage of savagery and well advanced in the stage of barbarism." In each tribe there existed a division on the basis of kinship into clans or gentes. The names given to these were usually those of the animals, birds, reptiles and of natural objects from which its members claimed descent, or which were regarded in common as guardian deities. These are known as their totems. The term clan implies decent in the female, and gens in the male line. Among the Winnebago and Dakota the man is the head of the family.

Each clan or gens possessed certain rights and privileges such as representation in the council of the tribe; participation in its religious rites, ceremonies and public festivals; a share in the tribal property and a right to have its elected chief and sub-chief confirmed and installed by the tribal council. All the members were considered near relatives. Among other duties incident to membership were those of not marrying within the clan, to aid and protect fellow members and to adopt others to replace members lost or killed. (H. A. I., 303-305.) The number of clans or gens varied in the different Siouan tribes. From John Alexander, himself a member of the Wolf gens, and

from other members of the tribe, Dr. J. O.Dorsey obtained a list of the gentes of the Hotcangara, or Winnebago:

1. Wolf
2. Black bear
3. Elk
4. Snake
5. Bird
6. Buffalo
7. Deer.

The Bird gens was composed of four subgentes:—1. Eagle. 2. Pigeon, 3. Hawk, (?) 4. Thunderbird. He believes it probable that each gens was thus subdivided into four subgentes. The tradition of the Winnebago Wolf gives an account of four kinds of wolves. (15. B. E., 240-241.) The tribe comprised in 1850 (according to Schoolcraft) twenty-one bands, all west of the Mississippi. (15, B. E., 163.)

A census, made in 1736, of the Indian tribes connected with the government of Canada gives the "armorial bearings" (clan totems?) of the Puans as "the Stag, the Polecat (Pichoux), the Tiger." The word "pichou" is said to have been commonly employed to designate the Canadian lynx; the "tiger" was the panther or catamount. (17, W. H. C., 248.) One or more clans or gentes may compose a phratry or subtribe. Several of the Siouan tribes are divided into two, and one, into three of these. Of the Winnebago phratries we have no information. In camping the Siouan tribes of the plains set up their tents in a circle, each of the gentes having its fixed place in the arrangement. The Winnebago being forest Indians have no camping circle..

Among the Siouan tribes the tribal functionaries usually consist of chiefs who are the civil and religious leaders; of soldiers or policemen, who are the servants of the chiefs, and of young men, who are those who have not won distinction in any way. The assembly is composed of the chiefs alone. (15, B. E., 213-214.) Elsewhere in this publication is a chapter giving short accounts of the chiefs, leaders and other prominent men of the early Wisconsin Winnebago.

Manners and Customs.

A lack of space forbids the authors considering at length the manner of life of the Winnebago tribe, concerning which there is a wealth of widely scattered information.. Included in the various chapters of this publication is other data of interest on this subject. Whatever may have been their customs in prehistoric times, they appear at the time of the coming of the early French explorers and missionaries to have been similar in many respects to those of the surrounding Algonquian tribes.

The historian La Potherie's description of the early Winnebago (1640-60) has already been quoted in a preceding chapter. Their prowess as warriors and hunters is generally acknowledged by historians. They appear to have had the universal disfavor of their Indian neighbors, and of the whites, who invariably write them down as filthy. This last is such a general charge that one might be inclined to suppose it to be repeated by suggestion. Whether anyone ever took the trouble to inquire if this was really a domestic infirmity or came from the supposed derivation of their name, we cannot learn. Captain Thomas A. Anderson, who spent a winter trading with them on the Rock river, in 1802, sang the same song of the Winnebago.

"They were the most filthy, most obstinate and bravest people of any Indian tribe." (9, W. H. C., 152.)

In early days their wearing apparel commonly consisted of a breechclout, moccasins, leggins and robes of dressed skins. Simple fabrics of bark fibre and rushes were probably also worn. The advent among them of the French trader enabled them to add to their scanty wardrobes, blankets, cloths and ornaments not before accessible. They are described in 1823 as having "their blankets daubed with paint," "wearing large rosettes of colored ribbons" and "having their hair done in two square cushions on the back of the head." (8, W. H. C., 294.) J. E. Fletcher, the Indian sub-agent at Turkey River, Iowa, furnished to Schoolcraft a description of the costume of the Winnebago, from which the following is condensed:

Plate 6.
BIG HAWK, CHIEF OF THE PIKE LAKE, MARATHON COUNTY BAND OF WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO. FROM PHOTOGRAPH TAKEN IN 1890.

Courtesy of the State Historical Society.

"White blankets are preferred in winter, and colored in the summer. Red is a favorite color with the young, and green with the aged. Calico shirts, cloth leggins, and buckskin moccasins are worn by both sexes. In addition to the above articles, the women wear a broadcloth petticoat, or mantelet suspended from the hips and extending below the knee. Wampum, ear-bobs, rings, bracelets, and bells are the most common ornaments worn by them. Head-dresses ornamented with eagle's feathers are worn by the warriors on public occasions. The chiefs wear nothing peculiar to designate their office, except it be medals received from the President of the United States. Some of the young men and women paint their blankets with a variety of colors and figures. A large majority of the young and middle-aged of both sexes, paint their faces, when they dress for a dance. The men frequently besmear their bodies with white clay when they join in a public dance.

Old and young women divide the hair from the forehead to the back of the crown, and wear 't collected in a roll on the back of the neck, confined with ribbons and bead-strings. The men and boys wear their hair cut similar to the whites, except that they all wear a small quantity on the back of the crown long and braided, which braids are tied at the end with ribbon. They (the men) have but little beard, which is usually plucked out by tweezers." (4, H. I. T., 58-59)

Of the great abundance of food accessible to the Winnebago and other savage tribes various early writers speak:

"All of these Tribes at the Bay are most favorably situated; the country is a beautiful one, and they have fertile fields planted with Indian corn. Game is abundant at all seasons, and in winter they hunt Bears and Beavers; they hunt Deer at all times, and they even fish for Wild-fowl. I will explain my remark; in Autumn there is a prodigious abundance of Ducks, both black and white, and the Savages stretch nets in certain places where these Fowl alight to feed upon the wild rice. Then advancing silently in their Canoes, they draw them up alongside of the nets, in which the birds have been caught. They also capture Pigeons in their nets, in the Summer. They make in the woods wide paths, in which they spread large nets, in the shape of a bag, and attached each side to the trees; and they make a little hut of branches, in which they hide. When the Pigeons in their flight get within this open space, the Savages pull a small cord which is drawn through the edge of the net and thus capture sometimes five or six hundred birds in one morning.

"All the year round they fish for sturgeon, and for herring in the Autumn; and in Winter they have fruits. Although their rivers are deep, they close the stream with a sort of hurdle, leaving open places through which the fish can pass; in these spaces they set a sort of net which they can cast or draw in as they please; and several cords attached, which, although they seem to close the opening, nevertheless afford passage to the fish. The savages are then apprised of the entrance of the fish into the net by a little bell which they fasten on the upper part of it; when this sounds, they pull in their fish. The

fishery suffices to maintain large villages; they also gather wild rice and acorns; accordingly these peoples of the Bay can live in the utmost comfort." (See 16, W. H. C., 9–10.)

Large quantities of sturgeon and other fish were cured by smoke and heat. Nuts, wild fruits and edible roots of various kinds were eaten. In common with other Wisconsin tribes they hunted the buffalo then herding in the central and western portion of the state, even as their ancestors had done in the region of the Ohio. At all of their villages were large fields of corn and vegetables. Carver in 1766 found the Winnebago raising great quantities of corn, squash, beans, pumpkins, watermelons and some tobacco at their Doty island village. Grapes, plums and other fruits were abundant near the town (C. T., 30). On the part of this island, now included in the cities of Menasha and Neenah, some Winnebago corn hills are yet to be seen. Dr. Lapham noted that the loose stones which originally covered the surface had been collected into little heaps to allow for the culture of the native crop (A. W., 61; 2 W. A., 55-56). In 1793, Robert Dickson reported the Indians at the Falls of the Fox river, near the Portage, as growing "Indian corn, squash, potatoes, melons and cucumbers in great abundance, and good tobacco". Saterlee Clark informed Dr. Lapham that Gen. Atkinson had purchased 6,000 bushels of corn from the Winnebago; and that in 1848 he had himself driven over half a mile of old Indian cornfields in Columbia county, which a pioneer had informed him that this tribe had cultivated (W. B M.). Corn was eaten green, was roasted, was dried and boiled with tallow or meat, or ground and made into bread, and prepared for consumption in various other ways. It was dried, shelled and cached in storage pits for future use.

A. E. Jenks says of the Winnebago, that they "have been producers of large quantities of wild rice; in fact it has been, and still is, a staple food with many of them" (19, B. E., 1052). He does not mention that they ever sowed the grain as did the Ojibwa. Wild rice abounded along the entire course of the Fox river and its tributary streams. An early description of this grain and of the manner of its gathering and preparation by the Indians of this region is given in the Jesuit Relation of

1662-63. (See 16, W. H. C., 25.) In 1818, Edward Tanner observed great numbers of Menominee and Winnebago gathering it in Rush Lake, Winnebago county. General Ellis gives a full account of its gathering and preparation by Green Bay Indians in 1822 (7, W. H. C., 265-66). Mrs. J. H. Kinzie briefly describes the manner of its gathering by Winnebago women in Big Butte des Morts lake in the fall of 1830:

"The water along its shores was green with the fields of wild rice, the gathering of which, just at this season, is an important occupation of the Indian women. They push their canoes into the thick masses of the rice, bend it forward over the side wth their paddles, and then beat the ripe husks off the stalks into a cloth spread in the canoe. After this it is rubbed to separate the grain from the husk and fanned in the open air. It is then put in their cordage bags and packed away for winter use. The grain is longer and more slender than the Carolina rice—it is of a greenish, olive color, and, although it forms a pleasant article of food is far from being particularly nutritive. The Indians are fond of it in the form of soup, with the addition of birds or venison." (W., 67.)

She is mistaken in regard to its nutritive qualities. A recent analysis shows it to be "more nutritious than any of our common cereals, as oats, barley, wheat, rye, rice, and maize" and more nutritious than the other native foods to which our Indians had access. The Wisconsin Winnebago of today dry the grain on a rack over a slow fire and thrash it on a blanket with sticks or flails (19, B. E., 1080, '65, '83). They store it in birch bark boxes and other receptacles. It is boiled with meat and vegetables, eaten in soup and in other ways.

In common with other Wisconsin Indians, the Winnebago, in later times at least, also manufactured quantities of maple sugar. Early in the spring time incisions were cut in the trunk of the maple the sap passing through a wooden spile into a birch bark or other vessel. W. H. Canfield describes the sap troughs of the Winnebago located at the Baraboo Rapids in 1842, as being made of white elm bark, or carved out of basswood and holding from one to four quarts (H. S. B. G., 25). The sap was boiled and stirred until a thick syrup was formed, this being afterwards poured into other vessels and allowed to cool.

Notwithstanding the abundant food accessible to the Indians there were occasional times of famine, of which the early writers speak. Mrs. Kinzie writes of such time in the spring of

1833, when owing to their failure during the previous year to plant gardens or cornfields and the scarcity of game during the winter, the Winnebago in the vicinity of Fort Winnebago were reduced to dire extremities for food, many of them subsisting for weeks on soup made of the bark of the slippery elm or stewed acorns". At this time chief De-kau-ry came from the Baraboo river to report that more than forty of his people had been for many days without other food than bark and roots (W., 481-84).

One style of Winnebago wigwam consisted of an arched framework of poles firmly set in the ground and lashed together with strips of bark and so arranged as to give to it sloping sides and a rounded top. Cross-pieces of wood secured the poles to one another. The roof and sides were covered with large pieces of bark, or matting. The general outline was round or elliptical. Schoolcraft gives an illustration of a Winnebago wigwam of this style (2, H. I. T., pl. 23). The low doorway was closed with a piece of matting or a blanket. In the center of the wigwam was the fireplace the smoke from which escaped through a hole in the roof. Fur robes, matting and blankets served for bedding. Branches were heaped around the side walls and on these the blankets were laid, to serve as a bed. Sometimes a bed made of poles and slightly raised from the ground occupied one side of the hut. Mrs. Kinzie gives an illustration of Four Leg's Doty island village in which the dwellings are shown to have rather high straight walls and a roundly curved roof. (Plate 1.) The lodge of the war chief Yellow Thunder at his village near Portage, is described as being 20 or 25 feet in length, being built of poles and covered with bark (7, W. H. C., 398). Conical lodges, also covered with bark or matting, were employed chiefly in the summer time. Fletcher stated that the lodges at Turkey river, Iowa, were:

"From twelve to forty feet in length, and from ten to twenty feet in width, and fifteen feet in height from the ground to the top of the roof. (The largest) would accommodate three families of ten persons each. They generally have two doors. Fires, one for each family, are made, along the space through the center. The smoke escapes through apertures in the roof. The summer lodge is of lighter materials and is portable." (4, H. I. T., 56-57, condensed.)

Council houses and other structures accompanied each village. The Doty island village was at one time fortified by a palisade supported by an earthen embankment. Indications of the latter are still to be seen. (See 2, W. A., 54-55.)

The implements and utensils of the Wisconsin tribes at the time of our earliest knowledge of them were of stone, clay, shell, wood, bone and antler. Elsewhere a reference to the use of stone knives and axes by the Winnebago is made. In their early warfare and hunting expeditions they evidently also employed the lance, spear, bow and club. Their household utensils were few in number and consisted mainly of vessels of clay, wood, bark, gourd and shell. Stone and wooden hoes were employed in preparing their gardens and cornfields. All of these the appearance of the French trader enabled them to exchange for more durable implements of metal. From Doty island alone, from earliest times the site of a Winnebago village, a very large number of stone and other implements have been recovered. Some of these are described in various numbers of the Wisconsin Archeologist, and in other works. These are quite similar to those obtained from other sites in the Fox valley. It is possible that implements and ornaments of native copper may also have been in use but in regard to these the Jesuit Relations and other early historical works are silent. Saterlee Clark informed Dr. P. R. Hoy in 1881, that when he first went among the Winnebago "many of them had copper headed weapons, many of them carried lances headed with copper, and it is quite common to see arrows headed with copper". W. H. Rogers, for several years connected with the Menominee Indian agency at Keshena, informed the same author that he frequently saw copper implements in the hands of the Chippewa and Winnebago. Many of their pipes were ornamented with copper. (W. B. M.)

Among the Winnebago as among other Wisconsin tribes it was the man's duty to assist in the protection of the village and of his family against enemies and by his hunting to provide meat and skins. He fashioned his weapons, canoes and traps. The work of the women consisted of the care of the wigwam and children, the preparation of food and clothing, and the planting and cultivation of the fields. Rush matting and clay,

bark and wooden vessels were made by them. If there were several wives the work was shared between them. The drudgery of their lot they appear to have borne quite cheerfully. In pioneer days the Winnebago mined lead in the lead region of Wisconsin and Illinois, the women doing their full share of the work.

Of the marriage customs of the Winnebago Moses Paquette stated in 1882:

"Presents to the parents of a woman, by either the parents of the man or the man himself, if accepted, usually secure her for a partner. However much the woman may dislike the man, she considers it her bounden duty to go and at least try to live with him. Divorce is easy among them. There are no laws compelling them to live together. Sometimes there are marriages for a specified time, say a few months or a year. When separations occur, the woman usually takes the children with her to the home of her parents. But so long as the union exists, it is deemed to be sacred, and there are few instances of infidelity. Quite a number of the bucks have two wives, who live on apparently equal, free and easy terms; but although there is no rule about the matter, I never heard of any of the men having more than two wives. With all this ease of divorce, numerous Indian couples remain true to each other for life." (12, W. H. C., 427.)

Marriage within the gens was forbidden. Infidelity was in early times probably severely punished as among other Wisconsin tribes. Intermarriage with the surrounding Algonquian was not of uncommon occurrence. As early as 1660 some of the Pottawatomi and Sac and Fox are reported to have taken Winnebago wives and to have in turn given their own daughters to these (16, W. H. C., 7). In later times such marriages were more frequent, when it was often the custom for the husband to make his home with his wife's family. (See W., 345) Many of the early traders and settlers took Winnebago wives.

Slavery existed among the Winnebago at a very early date. These slaves were captives obtained during their wars with neighboring tribes. Grignon states that the Ottawa and Sac and perhaps other Wisconsin tribes "were in the habit of making captives of the Pawnees, Osages, Missouries, and even of the distant Mandans, and these were consigned to servitude." (3, W. H. C., 256.) These were sometimes purchased and obtained in other ways from their captors by the other tribes. Presents of slaves were also occasionally made to the French.

According to Allouez almost the entire Winnebago tribe was at one time in captivity among the Illinois. (See 16, W. H. C., 6, 7.)

Of the burial customs of the Winnebago in earliest historic times considerable information is available. The bodies of the deceased were wrapped in birch bark or matting and interred in shallow graves. With them were buried their personal possessions, or symbolical objects. In later times the graves were protected by logs, stones, brush or pickets. Prisoners were sometimes put to death in order that the deceased might not want for slaves in the next world. With the corpse of a female were buried her implements of labor. The blackening of the face by mourners was a common custom. The women sometimes cut their limbs with knives and sharp flints. (See 5, W. H. C., 99.) Mothers sometimes carried bundles of clothes to represent a child lost by death (4, H. I. T., 55).

Mr. Jas. G. Pickett has described the mode of burial practiced, before 1848, by the Winnebago residing at Rush lake. The bodies of persons dying in the winter time were encased in bark or deposited in a canoe and elevated into the branches of a tree. Sometimes the remains were placed on a scaffold built between two trees. In the spring time the permanent burial was made in a shallow grave. Over this was erected an A-shaped structure. This consisted of two short, forked posts placed one at either end of the grave and which supported a cross-piece. Against this framework wooden slabs were placed. To mark the grave of an adult male a tall post painted in several colors was placed at its head, and if the deceased was a person of note a white dog was killed and hung to the post (2, W. A., 79).

The graves at Turkey river, Iowa, were dug in an east and west direction, in order that the dead might "look towards the happy land of the west". The body was sometimes placed in the grave in a sitting posture, the head and chest extending above the ground. A pipe of tobacco was buried with an adult male, and a war-club in the grave of a warrior. The incineration of bodies was never practiced by them. The hieroglyphics painted on the post at the head of a warrior's grave represented not the epitaph of the dead, but the exploits of

those who danced at his grave. The graves of chiefs and persons of distinction were sometimes enclosed with pickets. A white flag was placed over these. Sacrifices of goods were made by hanging these over the grave. These were afterwards gambled for. Fires were kindled and kept burning for four nights, the object being to guide the spirit of the dead in its flight (4, H. I. T., 54-55).

The conical mounds so common in our state were frequently selected as burial places by the Winnebago and other Indians. R. C. Taylor states that on some of the mounds on the shores of Buffalo and Puckaway lakes there were formerly to be seen "the modern grave of some Winnebago or Menominee chief, strongly protected by pickets." One of the oblong mounds near Theresa, Dr. Lapham found to be entirely covered with the recent graves of the Menominee and Winnebago residing there. (See A. W., 63, 59.) The burial in a large conical mound at Portage in 1832, of White Pawnee, a son of the Winnebago chief White Crow is on record (12, W. H. C., 431). At the present time roof-shaped shelters made of planks are placed over the graves. In the front of these is an opening to allow for the introduction of food and tobacco by the friends and relatives.

Among other favorite games of the Winnebago was that called lacrosse and which is said to have been borrowed by them and the Dakota from the Algonquian tribes. For the playing of this game the plateau where the city of La Crosse is now located was a favorite resort. Paquette says of the Winnebago that after their winter's hunt they would gather at this place to meet the traders and hold their feasts and lacrosse games. It was but seldom played in their villages as it was "considered to be more especially a spring festival game". These games were always played for heavy stakes in goods (12, W. H. C., 426-27). In a game played at Prairie du Chien on April 20, 1806, between the Winnebago and Fox, and the Dakota, 300 Indians participated, the latter being victorious (1. M. H. C., 415). The game is played with a wooden ball and rackets and is probably familiar to all. The moccasin game is said to have been the chief gambling game of the Winnebago. It is thus described by Paquette:

Plate 7. GROOVED STONE AXE AND CELTS, DOTY ISLAND SITE.

"The players squat on the ground in two groups, facing each other; any number may be on a side,—one or a dozen,—and the sides need not be equal in numbers. On the ground between the two groups, four moccasins are placed in a row. The leader of the side that has the "deal," so to speak, takes a small bead in his right hand and deftly slides the hand under each moccasin in turn, pretending to leave the bead under each one of them; he finally does leave the bead under one and the leader of the opposition side, watching him closely, is to guess which mocassin covers the bead. The opposition leader then takes a slender stick and lifts up and throws off the three moccasins under which he thinks nothing has been left, leaving the one under which he guesses the bead has been left. Should the bead be discovered under one of the three which he throws off, then he loses four points for his side; should he be correct in his guess, and the bead found under the one moccasin left, he gains four for his side. Ten small twigs or chips are conveniently at hand, and as each side wins at a play, the leader takes four from the pile. When the ten are all taken, by either or both sides, the game is ended, the side having the most sticks being the winner. Usually five such games are played, the side getting the greater number taking the stakes, which are commonly goods." (12, W. H. C., 426.)

This description differs in various details from the Menominee game as described by Hoffman (15, B. E., 242-244).

The game of bowl in the playing of which a wooden bowl and dice made of bone or other materials are employed and which is played by the Ojibwa and Menominee, is also played by the Winnebago.

The game of ring and pin, in which a number of phalangeal bones strung on a thong to the end of which a bone or metal needle is attached are employed, is also played. The bones are swung upward and caught on the needle. Foot and hand ball are played. Foot racing, leaping and shooting at marks were favorite pastimes. There were likewise other games which the women and children played.

Of the sports of the Siouan tribes Dr. W. J. McGee has explained that the more important and characteristic:

"Were organized and interwoven with social organization and belief so as commonly to take the form of elaborate ceremonial, in which dancing, feasting, fasting, symbolic painting, song and sacrifice played important parts, and these organized sports were largely fiducial. To many of the early observers the observances were nothing more than meaningless mummeries." (15, B. E., 174-75.)

Gen. Albert G. Ellis gives an account of several Winnebago dances as observed by him at Green Bay, in 1822:

They were preparing to leave for their fall hunts. The whole tribe assembled ..... in a large circle, the dancers, and drummer—the master of ceremonies—in the center; first they gave the pipe dance, an amusing affair, a single one dancing at a time, the trick of whch seemed to be to keep time to the drum, and especially to suspend action simultaneously with the cessation of the instrument, frequently the attitude was ridiculous in the extreme. and the maintaing it for a moment, till the drum commenced again, formed an exciting tableau." (7, W. H. C., 224.)

The name given to this dance is probably not its correct designation. He continues:

"Next followed the begging dance, preceded by a speech by the drummer, setting forth the extreme want of some of their very old, poor people, and asking charity in their behalf." (do.)

Of the war dance he gives the following interesting description:

"The whole concluded with the war dance, a sight to test the nerves of the stoutest heart. The Winnebagoes at that time, fifty-four years ago, were in their perfection of savage wildness; two thousand of them, men and women, old and young, were massed in a circle, standing fifty deep; the whites, army officers in the inner ring, and the warrior dancers, drummer and singers in the center. Twenty-two of their most stalwart young warriors took their places with not a thread of clothing save the breech-cloth; but all painted in most gorgeous colors and especially the faces, with circles of black, white, red, green and blue, around the eyes, giving the countenances expressions indescribably fierce and hideous, all armed with tomahawks, knives and spears. At first the dance was slow, to measured time of the drum and song; for there were a hundred singers, with the voice of the drummer; both male and female—the latter prevailing above the former. Soon they began to wax warm, the countenances assumed unearthly expressions of fierceness; their tread shook the solid earth and their yells at the end of each cadence, rent the very heavens. None could endure the scene unmoved—unappalled." (7, W. H. C., 224-225.)

Of this dance J. E. Fletcher also gives a brief description (3, H. I. T., 284-85). Moses Paquette gave to Dr. Thwaites the following brief account of another dance given in earlier days on the return from a successful hunt.

"Probably the most popular of their dances is the buffalo dance. They represent themselves to be bisons, imitating the legitimate motions and noises of the animal, and introducing a great many others that would quite astonish the oldest buffalo in existence. Of

course it has been a long time since any Wnnebagoes ever saw buffaloes; their antics are purely traditionary, handed down from former generations of dancers." (12, W. H. C., 423.)

Miss Alice E. Fletcher has given a more complete and interesting account of this same dance as performed by the Nebraska Winnebago and which she states is given "four times in the month of May and early June," the dancers being "four men and a large number of women". It is given in the tent used for sacred dances, and "is clearly indicative of the prayer for increase and plenty of buffalo". Of special interest is the construction during the dance of two small mounds of earth. This practice she considers to "suggest many speculations" (See 11, B. E.. 427-28). Charlevoix has described the buffalo dance as witnessed by him among the Green Bay savages, in 1721. (See 16, W. H. C., 416.)

Mrs. Kinzie describes the "complimentary" dance as witnessed by her in 1831:

"It was the custom to ask permission of the person to be complimented, to dance for him. Preparation is made by painting the face elaborately, and marking the person, which is usually bare about the chest and shoulders. All the ornaments that can be mustered, are added to the hair or head dress. Happy is he, who, in virtue of having taken one or more scalps, is entitled to proclaim it by a corresponding number of eagle's feathers.

The dancers assemble at some convenient place, and then come marching to the spot appointed, accompanied by the music of the Indian drum and shee-shee-qua or rattle. They range themselves in a circle and dance with violent contortions and gesticulations, some of them graceful, others only energetical, the squaws, who stand a little apart, and mingle their discordant voices with the music of the instruments, rarely participating in the dance. Occasionally, however, when excited by the general gaiety a few of them will form a circle outside and perform a sort of ungraceful, up and down movement, which has no merit save the perfect time which is kept.

The dance finished, which is only when the strength of the dancers is exhausted, a quantity of presents are brought and placed in the center of the circle, by order of the party complimented. An equitable distribution is made by one of their number; and the objects of the display having been accomplished, they retire." (W, 360-61, condensed.)

A somewhat similar dance is performed by the Ojibwa. The scalp dance of the Winnebago Mrs. Kinzie describes as being a most frightful spectacle:

"The scalps are stretched on little hoops, or frames, and carried on the end of a pole. These are branished about in the course of

the dance, with cries, shouts and furious gestures. The women who commence as spectators, becoming excited with the scene and the music, ..., rush in, seize the scalps from the hands of the owners and toss them franctically about with the screams and yells of demons." (W., 462.)

L. H. Bunnell states that:

"The Dakotahs and Winnebagoes, as well as other northern Indians, dance at the commencement of winter; just after the rutting season of deer has passed, for then their camps are usually supplied with venison, and they dance as a thanksgiving offering to the friendly spirits who guided them to success in the chase. The bear dance is for one person alone." (W. E. M., 126.)

Other dances there were for various occasions. Some of these were of a religious or semi-religious character and were preceded or followed by feasts and oratory.

Other ceremonial observances of the Winnebago tribe in earliest historic times appear to have been very similar to those of their neighbors. The use of the calumet was common to all, and the chant, dance and other ceremonies in its honor and accompanying its presentation and smoking are described by the early French explorers and missionaries. (See 16; 17, W. H. C.) It was offered as a pledge of peace or brotherhood.

Among the Winnebago as among the Menominee and Ojibwa there exists a medicine society. Of this Paquette stated:

"The chief theoretical object of the fraternity is, to keep the virtues of medicinal herbs and the details of medical practice generally, as secrets among a chosen few, and hand them down from one generation to another. The secret society is conducted by the medicine men. Fully one-half the tribe—men, women and youths of both sexes—belong; possibly a majority of them do. When a person wishes to join, and is accepted by the fraternity, he must accumulate a heap of goods as an initiation fee." (12, W. H. C., 423–424.)

Among the Winnebago a person is invited to join because of his possessing qualities especially fitting him therefore or because of some cure effected on his person.

"When he is about to be initiated, a great feast is prepared, at the expense of the candidate. An animal is killed and dressed, of which the people at large partake—there are dances and songs and speeches in abundance. Then the chief medicine-man takes the candidate and privately instructs him in all the ceremonies and knowledge necessary to make an accomplished member of the fraternity. Sometimes the new member selected is still a child. In that case he is taken by the medicine-man as soon as he reaches a proper age." (W., 362.)

Schoolcraft gives a description by Fletcher of the medicine society and an illustration of the interior of the medicine lodge (3, H. I. T., 286-88). The vocation of the medicine-man was an important and respected one. Cures of diseases were affected by magic, prayer, exhortions, fetiches, dances, by the use and application of herbal remedies, etc.

Religion.

Dr. J. O. Dorsey has presented a study of the cults or systems of religious belief of the Siouan tribes including remarks on those of the Winnebago which present some similarities to those of their relatives, the Iowa, (See 11, B. E). Dr. W. J. McGee also discusses at length the Siouan beliefs and mythology (15, B. E., 178-185). These and other noteworthy contributions on the subject, the student may read with profit. McGee explains that it was partly through a failure of early writers, handicapped by unfamilarity with their tongue, to correctly comprehend their complicated mythology that the popular fallacy concerning the belief of the Indians in one "Great Spirit" gained currency among the whites.

"Among these tribes the creation and control of the world and the things thereof are ascribed to "wa-kan-da" (the term varying somewhat from tribe to tribe), just as among the Algonquian tribes omnipotence was assigned to "ma-ni-do." Inquiry shows that wakanda assumes various forms, and is rather a quality than a definite entity Thus, among many of the tribes the sun is wakanda—not the wakanda or a wakanda, but simply wakanda; and among the same tribes the moon is wakanda, and so is thunder, lightning, the stars, the winds, the cedar, and various other things; even a man, especially a shaman, might be wakanda or a wakanda. In addition the term was applied to mythic monsters of the earth, air, and waters; according to some of the sages the ground or earth, the mythic under-world, the ideal upper-world, darkness, etc., were wakanda or wakandas. So, too, the fetiches and the ceremonial objects and decorations were wakanda among different tribes. Among some of the groups various animals and trees.....were regarded as wakandas. (15, E., 182, Condensed.)

Of the Winnebago beliefs only scattered fragments of information have been preserved by early writers.

Charlevoix, the historian, states of the Winnebago and other tribes residing near Green Bay in 1721.

"The Sun and Thunder are their principal Divinities; and they seem to believe more thoroughly than do those Tribes with whom we hold more intercourse that every kind of Animal has a Spirit, which watches over its preservation. They have special veneration for the Bear; as soon as they slay one of these animals, they make a feast, accompanied by very singular ceremonies .Not only do these savages have, like all the others, the custom of preparing themselves for their grand hunts by fasting, which the Outagamis extend even to ten consecutive days; but besides, while the hunters are in the field, the Boys are often compelled to fast; the dreams which they have during their abstinence are noted, and good and evil auguries for the success of the hunt are drawn from them. The objects of these fasts is to appease the tutelary Spirits of the Animals whom they are to hunt." (16, W. H C., 416-417, condensed.)

All animate and inanimate objects about them were possesed by spirits and offerings of tobacco and other materials were made to gain their good will and secure their assistance. The animals of the woods and waters were their relatives and guardian spirits.

L. H. Bunnell mentions that the yellow rattlesnakes of the Mississippi bluffs were held as sacred by the Winnebago and Dakota, who killed them only when a skin was required for a religious ceremony or dance. In consequence these became so numerous as to make it dangerous for anyone to visit the localities of the dens. (W. E. M., 323.)

Natural phenomena were regard by them as mysterious. Dr. Dorsey believes that judging from some of the Winnebago personal names that it is probable that the winds were regarded as divinities by them (11, B. E , 423), and McGee observes that on the whole it may be safe to consider the sun as the arch-mystery of the Siouan tribes. (15, B. E., 184.)

"The Winnebago lodges were always built with the entrances facing the east. When the warriors returned from a fight they circumambulated the lodge four times sunwise, stopping at the east just before entering." (do., 240-41.)

Like other Wisconsin savages they believed in monsters, witches and the like, and the revelations of their dreams were carefully observed. Dorsey gives three Winnebago names for superhuman beings. (11 B. E., 367.) They also believed in a future state of existence.

It is related of the early Wisconsin Winnebago that in passing the mouth of Devil river or Duck creek, near the lower end of Buffalo lake, they would drop their paddles, say a prayer,

strew the water with tobacco, feathers and painted hair and then sing a chant before continuing their journey. (8 W. H. C., 290.) Devil's lake was supposed to be the residence of a spirit or manitou, to appease whom offerings of tobacco were made. (7, W. H. C., 350.) There is said to be a Winnebago tradition of a woman carrying her child, who being pursued by her enemies, jumped from an elevation and became a rock. When Indians of that tribe pass the place they make offerings to her. (11, B. E., 425.)

Dr. Lapham has described and figured a boulder of gneissoid granite located at Hustisford and bearing some resemblance to a bird. This he says was held "in great veneration" by the Winnebago Indians (A. W., 51.) In early days a similar rock was presented to the State Historical Society by Dr. D. C. Ayers of Green Bay. It was described as a "stone manitou or spirit rock, an object of Indian worship and regard, somewhat in animal shape, evidently the result of water action, about a foot and a half long, formerly located on the old Indian war trail on the west shore of Lake Winnebago." (4. W. H. C., 28.) It has since been lost. A spirit stone, formed by nature in a resemblance to a human bust, was once located at the Grand Chute now Appleton. The face was painted by the savages who in descending the river invoked its blessing by offerings of tobacco, arrows and other valuables. In the year 1670, this stone was cast into the Fox river by the Fathers Allouez and Dablon.

At Rapide Croche, five miles below Kaukauna, a similar stone was discovered two years later by Father Allouez and also rolled into the stream. He mentioned it as "an idol which the passers invoke for the happy termination of their journey." Thus a manitou rock, the spirit of the water, stood guard at either end of the most dangerous of the rapids of the lower Fox river. They were probably venerated by the Winnebago, who controlled the river, as well as by other tribes. (S. I. S; 16, W. H. C., 81.) The early missionaries of the Christian religion who went among the Wisconsin savages appear to have made but little progress with the Winnebago. In later days, (April 1833), Rev. Father Mazzuchelli visited them at their village near Portage, and succeeded in making 200 converts. He

translated Father Baraga's Catechism from the Ottawa into the Winnebago.

Outline Sketches of the Chiefs.

The personal history of the chiefs and other noted men of the Wisconsin Winnebago must be reduced by the space alloted this paper, to brief statements devoted chiefly to the principal events of their lives and the locations of their villages.

The first chief of whom we have record is *Le Grelot,* the head of a Winnebago village at Lake Pepin, in 1737, and who warned the French commandant of the fort at that place of a joint plot of the Chippewa and Winnebago to destroy a party of Sioux. (17, W. H. C., 272.) His name signifies trembler or shaker.

Serotchon and *Chelaouois* are mentioned as Winnebago chiefs who attended a council held in Quebec in the year 1742. To them the Marquis de Beauharnois, Governor General of New France, delivered an address to the tribe, and promised medals. (17, W. H. C., 406-07.)

Hopokockau, or Glory of the Morning, also known as the Queen of the Winnebago, was the mother of the celebrated line of creole chiefs known to border history under the various names of Decorah. She was the sister of the head chief of the Doty island village. (5, W. H. C., 156-297.) Of the date of her birth there is no record. Her Indian name is also given as Wa-ho-po-e-kau. She became the wife of Sabrevoir De Carrie, an officer in the French army, in 1699, under De Boisbriant. He resigned his commission in 1729, and became a trader among the Winnebago, subsequently marrying Glory of the Morning. After seven or eight years, during which time two sons and a daughter were born, he left her, taking with him the daughter. During the French and Indian war, he re-entered the army, and was mortally wounded before Quebec, on April 28, 1760. This places his injury as occurring two weeks before the fall of that stronghold, and the deaths of both Wolfe and Montcalm.

He must have been injured in some of the almost daily assaults made by Wolfe upon some part of the long defenses on

Plate 8.

BLUE WING, A WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO GIRL, EXHIBITED AT THE PARIS EXPOSITION, 1900.

the bluffs of the St. Lawrence. He died in the hospital at Montreal. Glory of the Morning refused to go to Montreal with her husband and remained in her island home with her sons. The daughter whom De Carrie took with him, married Sieur Laurent Fily, a merchant of Quebec, who subsequently removed to Green Bay, and has descendents still living in the valley. (7, W. H. C., 347) Captain Jonathan Carver who visited the Queen in 1766, on Doty island, mentions the pleasure his attentions to her gave her attendants and herself. She received him graciously, and sumptuously entertained him during the four days he remained in her village. His description of the village, which he says "contained fifty houses," is quoted elsewhere in this bulletin. Mrs. Kinzie gives a sketch of the Queen as she appeared at Fort Winnebago in 1831:

"No one could tell her age; but all agreed she must have seen upwards of one hundred winters. Her eyes dimmed and almost white with age—her face darkened and withered, like a baked apple; her voice tremulous and feeble, except when raised in fury—she usually went on all fours; not having strength to hold herself erect. On the day of the payment having received her portion, which she carefully hid in the corner of her blanket, she came crawling along and seated herself on the door-step to count her treasure." (W., 358.)

Mr. Henry Merrell, who came to the Fort in 1834, says of her:

(She) "was pointed out to me some years afterwards, when I was told she must be over 143 years old. At the time I saw her she was able to walk six or eight miles to and from the Portage; she lived several years after, and finally came to her death by the burning of her wigwam." (7 W. H. C., 375--76.)

As she then lived in the village of her late grandson, Old Gray-headed Decorah, eight miles below Portage, on the west side of the Wisconsin river, she was probably buried there. She is said by some writers to have been a daughter of the head chief. (3, W. H. C., 286; 2, do., 178.) Her two sons:

"Being the descendants of a chief on the mother's side, when they arrived at manhood.....assumed the dignity of their rank by inheritance. They were generally good Indians, and frequently urged their claims to the friendship of the whites, by saying they were themselves half white." (2, W. H. C., 178.)

Chou ke ka, also spelled Chau ka ka, (5 do., 155,) called Spoon Decorah, or the Ladle, was the eldest son of Sabrevoir De

Carrie, (5, W. H. C., 155; 7, do., 346). Augustin Grignon renders the name Chou ga rah. He knew him in the winter of 1801-2 and reports him as then head chief of the Winnebago:

"He was at this time a very old man and died at the Portage about 1808, and, by his request, was buried in a sitting posture in a coffin, ...placed on the surface of the ground, with a small cabin erected over it, and that surrounded with a fence." (3, W. H. C., 286.)

According to La Ronde his death occurred in 1816 when he was "quite aged." It also appears that Chau ke ka signed the treaty of St. Louis on May 18, 1816. (7, W. H. C., 346-347; 5, do., 155.)

Sons of the Ladle were Ko no kah or Old Gray-headed Decorah; Au gah, or the Black Decorah; An au gah, or the Raisin Decorah; Nah ha sauch e ka, or Rascal Decorah. The Ladle was the father of five daughters, three of whom married Indians. One was married first [illegible] and afterwards to Perrish Grignon, a half-brother of Augustin Grignon. And one married a trader, Jean Le Cuyer, who raised a family at Portage. (3, W. H. C., 286.) Another genealogy furnished by La Ronde states that the Ladle had seven sons and five daughters. The sons he names:

"Ruch-ka-scha-ka, or White Pigeon, called.....Black De-kau-ry; another, Chou-me-ne-ka-ka, or Raisin De-kau-ry; another Ko-ke-mau-ne-ka, or He-who-walks-between-two-stars, or the Star-walker; another Young De-kau-ry, called ..... Rascal De-kau-ry; another, Wau-kon-ga-ka, or the Thunder Hearer; and the sixth Ongs-ka-ka or White Wolf, who died young. Of the sisters, three married Indian husbands; one married a trapper named Dennis De Riviere, and afterwards to Perrish Grignon; the other to John B. Le Cuyer, the father of Madame Le Roy. (7, W. H. C., 347.)

Old Gray-headed Decorah, or Old Decorah, or Gray-headed Decorah, or White War Eagle, whose common Indian name was Scha chip kaka, and whose Winnebago name was Warrahwikoogah or Bird Spirit, was a son of the Ladle, and grandson of Glory of the Morning. He died at Peten well, the high rock on the Wisconsin river, April 20, 1836, and is said to have been 90 years old. He fought under the British General Proctor at Sandusky. (Fort Stephenson, at Lower Sandusky now Fremont, Ohio, was defended by a force under the gallant Croghan, of 150 Americans, with one cannon, against the attack of Gen. Proctor, with 500 regulars and 800 Indians, August 2, 1813.)

The War Eagle also fought with Proctor and Tecumseh at the battle of the Thames, where the British army was largely slain or captured, and Tecumseh shot. (This important battle, which took place near the Moravian village on the Thames in Canada, eighty miles east of Detroit, was fought by General William Henry Harrison, October 5, 1813.) He was held as a hostage at Prairie du Chien in 1827, for the good behavior of the Winnebago during the so-called Winnebago war. (13, W. H. C., 449; 5 *do.* 153.) It was while Major Zachary Taylor was located at Prairie du Chien, that he received from Old Gray-headed Decorah a peace pipe now in the State Historical museum at Madison. (4, W. H. C., 28.) He gave assurance to Gen. Atkinson during the Winnebago war, of the peaceable intentions of the Winnebago. (2, W. H. C., 154.) Soon after Laurent Barth purchased the right from the Winnebago in 1793 to transport goods over the Portage, Old Gray-headed Decorah moved from Puckaway lake, in Green Lake county, and located a village on the Wisconsin river, about two miles above the Portage. (3, W H. C., 288-89.) In 1816, he had a village about eight miles up the Wisconsin river from Portage. (2, W. H. C., 178.) Mr. Henry Merrell, says that in 1834, "Old Chief Decorah had his village on the west side of the Wisconsin river, eight miles below the Portage." (7, W. H. C., 375.)

De La Ronde says:

"In 1836, the Indians had the misfortune of losing the best of their chiefs, Scha-chip-ka-ka, or De-kau-ry. His death occurred April 20, at the age of ninety, at his village—the locality now known as the Caffrey place in the town of Caledonia, at the foot of the bluff, between the Wisconsin and Baraboo rivers. The school house of district number five, now occupies the spot where the old chief died.

De-kau-ry's town contained over one hundred lodges, and was the largest of the Winnebago villages. Before he died, De-kau-ry called the Catholic priest, Mr. Vanderbrook, who was at Portage at the time, by whom he was baptised, the day of his death, and was buried in their cemetery near the present Court House in Portage City. (7, W. H. C, 355-56.)

He has also been called Eldest Decorah (5, W. H. C., 153; 3 *do.*, 286.) His Indian name is also given at Hut sha wan shawkaid or the War Eagle (5, W. H. C., 155). J. O. Lewis painted his portrait, as "Tshu Gue Ga, a celebrated chief half Winnebago and half French, at Little Butte des Morts, 1827." He

was only one quarter French. He is also said to have died on April 30th. (5, W. H. C., 155; 3. *do.*, 286.) He signed the treaties of 1828, 1829, 1832. Mrs. Kinzie described him as:

"The most noble, dignified and venerable of his own or indeed of any other tribe. His fine Roman countenance, rendered still more striking by his bald head, with one solitary tuft of long silvery hair neatly tied and falling back on his shoulders; his perfectly neat, appropriate dress, almost without ornament and his courteous manner, never laid aside, under any circumstances, all combined to give him the highest place in the consideration of all who knew him." (W., 89.)

She reports him as coming to Portage from his village during the famine, in 1831, and reporting the starving condition of his people. On being offered food for his own family he refused to accept it stating that "if his people could not be relieved, he and his family would starve with them." (W., 484.) Augustin Grignon stated that he was the eldest son of the Ladle, and succeeded him as chief (3, W. H. C., 286.)

Sons of Old Grey-headed Decorah were: 1. *Cha-ge ka-ka* or Little Decorah, who died on October 20, 1836, within six months of the demise of his father, whom he had succeeded as chief. 2. *Hopeneschaka* or White French, who became chief on the death of his brother. (7. W. H. C., 346.) 3. *One-eyed Decorah* or Big Canoe. 4. *Spoon Decorah,* born at his father's village near the Caffrey schoolhouse, near the mouth of the Baraboo river "a few years before the Tecumseh war." In March 1887, Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites interviewed him in the town of Big Flats, Adams county, ten miles from Friendship. He was then "living with his aged squaw," "while his progeny, reaching to the fourth generation were clustered about the patriarchal lodge in family wigwams." He could only converse in his native tongue.. He died on October 13, 1889, in a cranberry marsh, near Necedah, said to have been 84 years old, having been born in 1803. (13, W. H. C., 448-461.) 5. *Little Decorah* died near Tomah, at Blue Wing's village about April 1, 1887, a very old man, about 100 years old. He was the oldest son of Old Gray-headed Decorah. His place was near Millston, Jackson county, when he died. (12, W. H. C., 429.)

Chah post kaw kaw, or the Buzzard Decorah, was a son of Glory of the Morning and Sabrevoir De Carrie, so One-eyed

Decorah informed Judge Gale. He settled at La Crosse in 1787, with a band of Winnebago, and was soon after killed by his own son in a drunken row. 1. This son was *Mau wah re gah*, eldest brother of *One-eyed Decorah* and *Wau kon*. He killed his father while intoxicated and was ever after despised by the band. (3, W. H. C., 287.) 2. *One-eyed Decorah*, whose Indian name was Wadge hut ta kaw or the Big Canoe, was a son of the Buzzard. J. O. Lewis painted his portrait at Prairie du Chien in 1825, under the name "Wade-He-Doo-Kaana, chief of the Winnebago." His village in 1832 and later was at the mouth of Black river, or as some say, near the village of Salem on the La Crosse river, in Onalaska township, La Crosse county. It is also said by Rev. Brunson, to have been at Prairie La Crosse, in 1832. (2, W. H. C., 252.) In 1826, he was said by Gen. H. L Dousman to have his village on Black river. (5, W. H. C., 156.) Thomas P. Burnett says he found One-eyed Decorah and Little Thunder at the lower mouth of Black river in 1832. One-eyed Decorah was born about 1772, and was 15 years of age when his father settled at La Crosse. He aided in the capture of Mackinaw (July 17, 1812), was with the British in the attack on Fort Stephenson; (Aug. 2, 1813, near Fremont, Ohio), with McKay at the capture of Prairie du Chien, and signed the treaty there in 1825. He died near the Tunnel. Monroe county, Wisconsin, August 1864, aged 92 years. (3 *do.*, 286; 7 *do.*, 359.) The act for which he became celebrated was the capture of Black Hawk and the Prophet, in 1832. The particulars have already been noted.

In 1832, One-eyed Decorah married two wives and went to live on Black River (12, W. H. C., *do.*, 406-454.) Ever since the capture of Black Hawk the captors and their descendants have borne the name of the bold Sauk warrior.

Spoon Decorah was a son of One-eyed Decorah, and signed the peace and tribal treaty of 1825, at Prairie du Chien He was a cousin of the Spoon Decorah interviewed by Dr. Thwaites in 1887. (13, W. H. C., 460.)

A brother of One-eyed Decorah, was Wa kon han kaw, or *Wau kon Decorah*, or Snake Skin, commonly called Washington Decorah, the orator of the Winnebago. He was living in

1868, in Minnesota, a very aged man. (3, W. H. C., 286.) The name is also rendered Wau kon cau haga or Wau kon. His likeness, painted by J. O. Lewis in 1825, is shown in his Aboriginal Portfolio. He is there called "Wau kaun or the Snake."

In 1832, Mr. Burnett found him, with the principal part of his band from the Wisconsin and Kickapoo rivers, about sixty miles up the Mississippi from Prairie du Chien. (2, W. H. C., 259). He had a village at the headwaters of De Soto creek, below La Crosse (12, W. H. C., 460.) He died at the Blue Earth agency in about the year 1868.

In 1859, he was said to be 84 years of age. (7, W. H. C., 309.) He signed the treaties of 1829 and 1832. He is said by Mr. Dousman to have had a village on the Mississippi, 30 miles above Prairie du Chien, in 1826. (5, W. H. C., 156.) This is probably an error.

Among others who bear the name and claim descent from this famous line of Winnebago chieftains, is Angel Decora, who studied art at Smith College, Northampton, Mass., and under the celebrated artist Howard Pyle, who has interested himself in her success. She practiced her art until recently in New York City, when she was placed in charge of the art department at the Carlisle (Pa.) Indian school. In her work she has already won distinction.

This name, Decorah, is variously spelled by various authorities and appears as Day kau ray, Decorra, Dekorrah, Decorah, Dakoury and De Kora. De Korra is the name of a town and post office in Columbia county, and Decorah that of a considerable city near the former Winnebago reservation, in northeastern Iowa. The proper orthography of the name is De Carrie.

Four Legs, or Ne o kau tah, had his village at the outlet of Lake Winnebago, on Doty island. Many references to both the chief and his village occur. (See 3, W. H. C., 286; 5, do., 96; 10, do., 74; 11, do., 395; 2, W. A., 52 and 1906, P. S. H. S.) He was known as Neokautah by the Menominee, and his Winnebago name was Hootschope (pronounced Hooshoo). J. O. Lewis, who painted his portrait in 1827, gives his name as O Check Ka.

Hon. Morgan L. Martin, who visited it in 1828, describes the village as follows:

"On Doty's island, very near the mouth, on the west channel was the village of Hootschope or Four Legs, the well known Winnebago chieftain. There were from 150 to 200 lodges there, covered with bark or mats.. We found Four Legs a very ordinary looking Indian." (11, W. H. C., 395.)

On August 16, 1830, Mr. McCall, one of the commissioners appointed to arrange the differences between the New York Indians and the Winnebago, met in council Four Legs and ten other chiefs, at his lodge on Doty island. He briefly describes the chief and his village:

"There was in all 55, male and female. The chief's name is Four Legs. Took our dinner and returned to meet the chief at his lodge. Here we found them collected—in all about 10 in number—the head chief seated on his mat cross-legged in all the majesty of an Asiatic prince. After a profound silence, he arose from his seat and shook hands with each of us and addressed us.....in the Winnebago." (12 W. H. C., 187-188.)

Mrs. Kinzie mentions Four Legs as the "great chief of the Winnebago, whose village was on Doty Island", in 1830, and says:

"(It was) at the entrance to Winnebago Lake, a picturesque cluster of huts, spread around on a pretty green glade, and shaded by fine lofty trees." (W., 62)

She furnishes an illustration of the village and says: "it was a cluster of neat bark wigwams". This is reproduced in our Plate 1. Four Legs died in 1830, but his village was still occupied in 1832, being reported by Cutting Marsh as occupied "by a small band of the Winnebago tribe". This is the last mention of this village. Its name is preserved in the word Menasha, the city, which with the city of Neenah, now occupies its site. The name both Curtis Reed and Governor J. D. Doty, the founders of the modern town, interpreted as meaning "the village on the island". At the council at Green Bay, August 24, 1830, Four Legs was the head chief and Duck was the head orator. (12, W. H. C., *do.*, 192.) In furnishing entertainment to amuse their visitors, Four Legs was active. Mr. McCall mentions that:

"At night a band of the Winnebagoes appeared, painted all coulors—not only their faces but their bodies—before the house where we boarded, incouraged by some and treated by others with whiskey. They held the war dance and kept it up until 10 o'clock at night,

with all their disfigured and distorted countenances—naked except breech clouts. All with some kind of weapon and horrid yell, made them resemble so many infernals." (12 W. H. C, 195.)

The report of the Commissioners of the council recites that Four Legs and Black Wolf were the only speakers, and that they had signed the treaty in 1832, with the New York Indians (12, W. H. C., 195). Schoolcraft mentions that Four Legs exacted tribute from travelers immediately after the war of 1812. He assumed to be the keeper of the Fox river valley. Colonel T. L. McKinney alludes to this custom of exacting tribute, and relates that Gen. Leavenworth in going up stream with his command in 1816, was accosted by Four Legs and notified that the lake was locked. The General rose with his gun resting on his arm, and asked the interpreter to inform the chief that he had the key to unlock it. To this Four Legs replied, "let him pass."(5, W. H. C., 96.) As Four Legs was supposed to be forty years of age in 1830, the year he died, he must have been born about 1790. He may have taken part in the war of 1812, on the side of the British. Mrs. Kinzie mentions his death through the drinking of too much sutler whiskey, while waiting at Fort Winnebago with the assembled Winnebago for the arrival of the silver from the Government for the payment of their annuities:

"His body, according to custom, having been wrapped in a blanket, and placed in a rude coffin along with his guns, tomahawk, pipes, and a quantity of tobacco, had been carried to the most elevated point of the hill opposite the fort, followed by an immense procession of his people whooping, beating their drums, howling, ... After the interment of the body a stake was planted at its head on which was painted in vermillion a series of hieroglyphics descriptive of the great deeds and events of his life. The whole was then surrounded with pickets of the trunks of tamarack trees, and hither the friends would come for many successive days to renew the expression of their grief, and to throw over the grave tobacco and other offerings to the Great Spirit." (W, 86.)

His wife, who survived him, was a Fox woman but spoke the Chippewa language, which brought her services into use as an interpreter, as that was the court or universal language among all the tribes. (See 2, W. H. C., 176; 5, do., 96; 14, do., 84.) Her portrait was painted by J. O. Lewis, in 1827. Four Legs is said to have been a big chief and "a great and mighty war-

Plate 9.

STONE CELT, GORGET, ANTLER IMPLEMENT, IRON HARPOONPOINT AND COPPER SPEARPOINTS, DOTY ISLAND SITE.

rior." In 1887, there were two descendents of the chief living; one, Good Cloud, a woman residing at Tomah. She had a son whose name was Good Bear. One descendant was Will Dandy, a boy who was then at school in the Wittenberg mission. He has two cousins also living at Wittenberg (13, W. H. C., 460).

Sau sa mau nee was a younger brother of Four Legs and fought under the British flag, in the war of 1812 (3, W. H. C., 287).

Wild Cat or Pe sheu had his village on Garlic island now Island Park, a small island on the west margin of Lake Winnebago, seven miles south of Menasha, and the same distance north of Oshkosh. The village was also located across the solent on the mainland. The corn hills are still visible, both on the island and mainland. Just when this village was established cannot be exactly ascertained, yet it is probable that Pe sheu himself was its founder and that he and his tribesmen came from the principal Winnebago village on Doty island. One of the earliest descriptions of this village is that of Mrs. (Governor) James D. Doty, who records in her journal, under the date of August, 1823, of a canoe journey which she made with her husband on the way up the river to hold court at Prairie du Chien:

"We coasted along the west shore of Lake Winnebago to Garlic island, on the opposite point to which is a Winnebago village of fine permanant lodges, and fine cornfields."

The late Judge Morgan L. Martin made the same journey in birch bark canoes with Judge Doty and others in 1828, on their way to try Red Bird, the Winnebago, for murder:

"Garlic Island was the next stopping place. There was a Winnebago village there of about the same size as that over which Four Legs (Doty Island) presided, (150 to 200 lodges). The lodges, however, were longer and neater. We purchased supplies of vegetables of the island villagers." (10, W. H. C., 74; 11 do. 395.)

From these descriptions it would appear that the population at that time probably consisted of 1,000 or more persons.

"Chief Wild Cat was a large and bulky savage with a hasty and ferocious temper which often got him into difficulties. We suppose that he was born at Doty island at some time just previous to the American Revolution. The earliest knowledge which we have of this chief is from a remark he once made when he and Sarcel, a Winnebago chief, had a dispute in regard to their relative bravery. On this occasion

Wild Cat is said to have exclaimed: "Don't you remember the time we aided the Shawanoes (English) in attacking the fort, that you ran off so fast that you lost your breech clout." This remark had reference to the Indian war of 1793, when the British had incited the western Indians to frequent depredations against the straggling white settlers in Ohio (and Michigan.) There is a possibility also that he may have served with Charles de Langlade under the British flag in the war of the Revolution. Certain it is that in 1797, he was considered of sufficient importance to receive from the royal officers the medal of their King. This bronze medal, given as a memento of distinguished favor, by King George III, to his savage ally in his wildwood home on the shore of Lake Winnebago, now reposes in the museum of Lawrence University, at Appleton, Wis. It was deposited there about the year 1875, by Mr. D. C. Church, of the town of Vinland, Winnebago county, who obtained it from Louis B. Porlier of Butte des Morts, a trader and son of Judge Porlier." (H. W. C., 271; 3, W. A., 60.

Mrs. Kinzie says the Wild Cat was "our Indian Falstaff in all save cowardice and falsehood" (W.,75). Being intoxicated he was unable to get to Fort Armstrong, at Rock Island, in time to object to the treaty of 1831, and when he found it ceded the lands on which his village stood, he wept. It is said that he was found dead against an oak tree, in the center of the woods, where Oshkosh now stands. He was at the payments in Portage in 1830 and 1831, and is said to have died soon after the Black Hawk war, which would make the date of his death about 1833. He is reported to have been present under the partisan British leader of the Wisconsin savages, Colonel Robert Dickson, early in 1812, at the capture of Mackinac. The following spring he fought with Tecumseh at Fort Meigs, and also in the attack on Fort Stephenson. He also participated in the capture of Prairie du Chien. In the winter of 1814, Dickson with his convoy of supplies was ice bound until January on Garlic island, at Pesheu's village.

Black Wolf or Shounktshunksiap was a celebrated character in the border days of a century past. Mrs. Kinzie has left an interesting sketch of this bold warrior:

"Whose lowering, surly face was well described by his name. The fierce expression of his countenance was greatly heightened by the masses of heavy black hair, quite contrary to the usual fashion of the Winnebagoes, they for the most part remove a portion of the hair, the remainder of which is drawn to the back of the head, clubbed and ornamented with beads, ribbons, cock's feathers, or, if so entitled, an eagle's feather for every scalp taken from an enemy." (W. 74.)

J. O. Lewis, who painted his portrait (See Plate 2) at the Little Butte dés Morts treaty in 1827, gives his Indian name as Shounk Chunk. His village was located on a point of land now known as Black Wolf point, jutting out into Lake Winnebago, seven miles south of the city of Oshkosh, township of Black Wolf, Winnebago county. It is said to have numbered not more than forty huts. The date of its establishment here is not exactly known, but it is supposed to have been before the year 1800. Mrs. G. A. Randall, who formerly resided at Randall's point, remembers to have seen the Indian tepees and campfires along the shore of Black Wolf point as late as the year 1846. Chief Black Wolf was a large man and much respected by his people, and was called a war chief (13, W. H. C., 460). He participated in the attack on Mackinac in the war of 1812.

"After the war, the British, still seeking to hold the Winnebago in their interest for purposes of trade, called them to Mackinac to a council or treaty with Col. Robert McDonald, the British commissioner. Black Wolf was one of those in attendance at this gathering. He also participated with the British and their allies in the capture of Prairie du Chien in the year 1814. He was one of the signers of the land grant negotiated by Eleazer Williams in 1821, with Four Legs, the Winnebago head chief, and others by which the New York Indians were to receive a strip of land five miles in width across the Lower Fox river. He also participated in the councils held at Green Bay and Doty island, for a similar purpose, in 1830. He is said to have died at Portage, Wis., in the year 1847. (3, W. A., 86. See also 3, W. H. C., 288; 13, do., 452.)

During the Black Hawk war, Black Wolf, camped with the Winnebago assembled at the site of Portage. Black Wolf was an uncle to Gray Eagle-eye, the last squaw of Spoon Decorah, (the Spoon of Dr. Thwaites' interview). (13, W. H. C , 452.)

Dandy, the Beau Brummell of the Winnebago, was a son of Black Wolf, and a cousin of Four Legs.

He wore a fancy dress, shirt of brightest color, ornamented with rows of silver brooches, and displayed two pair of arm bands. His leggings and moccasins were of the most elaborate embroidery in ribbons and porcupine quills. Numerous ornaments were dangling from his club of back hair. A feather fan was in one hand, and a mirror in the other. His face was brilliantly colored and daubed. (W., 75.)

La Ronde says that Dandy, son of Black Wolf was also known as Little Soldier (7, W. H. C., 346). His village is reported by Mr. W. H. Canfield as being in 1836, on the Baraboo river

five or six miles above the present city of Baraboo (5, W. A., 378). Old Dandy, then 70 years old, was one of those Paquette went after at the time of the removal of the tribe. He was a small thin man, and the only Winnebago who after the breaking up of the tribal relations in 1848, was generally respected as a chief of the tribe. He went to Washington in 1828, with War Eagle and others to see the President. His camp was then near the Dalles. He said that he would not go to Long Prairie and was allowed to remain (12, W. H. C., 409). In 1844, Captain Sumner was sent back to Portage to hunt for Dandy. He was found at head of Baraboo river, and made to ride horseback with his legs chained beneath the animal with an ox chain. He demanded to be taken to Governor Dodge at Mineral Point. Dodge asked his mission. Dandy took a Bible from his bosom and asked the Govenor if it was a good book. He answered that it was. "Then," said Dandy, "if a man would do all that was in that book could any more be required of him?" He answered "No". "Well", said Dandy, "Look that book all through, and if you find in it that Dandy ought to be removed by the Government to Turkey river, then I will go right off, but if you do not find it I will never go there to stay". The Governor informed him that his trick would not work He was then taken to Prairie du Chien. The chain so blistered his feet and legs that he was unable to walk for three weeks. He was placed in charge of a corporal, who was obliged to carry him on his back to a buggy to be taken to Turkey river. Supposing Dandy still unable to walk his guard left him for a moment to re-enter the Fort, whereupon he jumped from the buggy and escaped into the forest. He remained in Wisconsin and died at the Peten well bluff, an isolated rocky peak on the Wisconsin river, in June 1870, aged 77 years (7, W. H. C., 364-65).

The Smoker, or Tahnicksieka, also spelled Not aw pin dawqua, was a Winnebago chief who resided at the south end of Lake Winnebago, three miles east of the present site of Fond du Lac, where the name is still preserved in Taycheedah township (3, W. H. C., 251, 288; 5, W. A., 322).

Mr. Biddle relates an anecdote of the Smokers calling on Col. Miller in 1816, with a deputation of his tribe to enquire

why he was about to establish the fort at Green Bay. Col. Miller replied that his purpose "though armed for war, was peace." The chief replied "that if his object was peace he had brought more with him than was necessary to treat; but if his object was war, he had brought too few to fight". Col. Miller then took the savages to view a dozen cannon lying in the grass on the bank of the river proving to them that he had enough war material to make good his right, and ended the conference (1, W. H. C., 52). On this occasion the Smoker made a long speech to Colonel Bowyer, the Indian agent, which is reported in full (13, W. H. C., 444). The Smoker's village was established by his father, Sarro chau, "one of the best of Indians". This must have occurred before 1788, as at that time some of the people from the village saved the Ace family from being murdered by Pacan and his robber band. Sarrochau was with Colonel McKay in the attack on Prairie du Chien in 1814, and died soon after (3, W. H. C., 288). He served as a guide during the Black Hawk war, in 1832 (13, W. H. C., 453). Judge Martin reports passing an Indian village, during his journey in 1829, on the present site of Fond du Lac, but does not make it clear that this was the Smoker's village (10, W. H. C., 74, 11 *do.*, 400).

The Yellow Thunder, or Wah con zaj gah, "was a fine looking Indian, tall, straight and stately" (12, W. H. C., 429). His old encampment was about five miles below Berlin on the Fox river, at the Yellow Banks (10, W. H. C., 221) This would locate his village near Eureka, in Winnebago county. In 1832, at the close of the Black Hawk war, Colonel Charles Whittlesey, with four others, made a saddle journey over the Indian trail along the left bank of the lower Fox, and the right bank or east side of the upper Fox river. Before arriving at Fort Winnebago, he passed two Winnebago villages, one of which was that of Yellow Thunder. The villagers much to their annoyance followed the party out of their village on horseback (1, W. H. C., 74). Hon. Morgan L. Martin mentions passing a "Winnebago village on Green Lake prairie" in 1829, which may have been the village of Yellow Thunder, though probably that of Sarcel (2, W. H. C., 401, *do.,* 74). In 1828, Yellow Thunder and his squaw made a journey to Wash-

ington to interview the President (7, W H. C., 346), and thereafter this squaw was known as the Washington Woman. Yellow Thunder was a convert to the Catholic church, and became zealous in its offices (10, W. H. C., 221). He was called the head war chief of his tribe (12, W. H. C., 429). By false pretenses he was induced with others to visit Washington in 1837, and signed the false treaty which ceded to the government all the Winnebago posessions east of the Mississippi river. Three years after, he was one of the first to suffer under this cession by being forcibly put in irons at Portage, and removed to Turkey river, in Iowa. He soon returned and requested La Ronde to go with him to Mineral Point to enter a forty of land, on the west bank of the Wisconsin river (7, W. H. C., 393). He was again forcibly removed to Iowa with Black Wolf but was allowed to return as he was a land owner, (12, W. H. C., 429). Yellow Thunder owned the S. W. quarter of the S. E. quarter of Section 36, on the Wisconsin river, in the town of Delton, Sauk county. On this land two log huts were constructed for his own use, and that of the families who lived with him. About five acres of land was cultivated, corn, beans and potatoes being raised. During big feasts as many as 1,500 Indians gathered in the vicinity. Shortly before his death he sold his land to Mr. John Bennett. It is related that when he paid his taxes he placed a kernel of corn in a leather pouch for each dollar of taxes paid, and when he sold the land he demanded as many dollars as there were kernels of corn in the old pouch. His summer village was sixteen miles up the river from Portage in 1840 (7, W. H. C., 398). He died in 1874 and was buried on a sandy knoll near his homestead. Nearby are the graves of the Washington Woman and several other Indians (5, W. A., 239-40). The reference, (12, W. H. C., 429) giving his death as in the fifties is an error. It is probable that the date of his birth was close to the year 1800. An oil portrait of Yellow Thunder hangs in the halls of the Wisconsin Historical Society.

Walking Turtle, or Naw-waw, or Karrymaunee, was described in 1830 as "a stalwart Indian, with a broad pleasant countenance, with an immense underlip hanging nearly to his chin." (W., 89.) The English dispatched Mr. George McBeath

May 1783, to hold a council with the savages at Prairie du Chien, to announce to them the close of the Revolution and cession of the territory to the United States. At this council "Karimine," spoke for the Winnebago (2, W. H. C., 170). The name is also spelled Karrymaunee, Carrymaunee, Carimaunee, Carimimie, Caramaunee, Calimine, Carramana, Kay rah mau nee, Kerry mau nee and Kariminee. Augustin Grignon says "he was a worthy man" (2, W. H. C., 287). He is described as the principal chief of his tribe, and is reported to have been beside Tecumseh when he fell at the battle of the Thames, on October 5, 1813 (14, W. H. C., 87). In 1790, he went on a commission with Tecumseh to the Indians in New York, anl served with that famous chief in the campaigns of the war of 1812, and until his death. He signed the treaties of 1816, 1825, 1829 and 1832, (5, W. H. C., 178.) and was known in 1832 as the "Counsellor" of the Winnebago (7, W. H. C., 350). His village was located at Baraboo, a little north of the present City (7, W. H. C., 350). A. B. Stout gives a brief description of the village:

"Here, near the junction of Mound and Water streets (Baraboo), Mr. (W. H.) Canfield's city plat shows a group of effigies, all evidently intended to represent mammals. They are now entirely effaced. Mr. Canfield states that when he arrived in Baraboo in 1842, a pole flying a flag made of skins was still standing to mark the location of the council house. The Indians had a village around the council house and the rapids of the Baraboo river which are close by." (5, W. A., 254.)

The Turtle is reported to have had a village on Rock river at Beloit in 1832, when he signed the treaty. (14, W. H. C., 128). The early name for Beloit was Turtle Creek. When the Winnebago band came over the site of Portage to the camp of Major Whistler on the opposite bank of the Fox to deliver Red Bird and We kau, on September 3, 1827, Colonel Thomas McKinney, an eye witness, says they were led by "Cariminie." He mentions the Walking Turtle as "still living in 1840." (5, W. H. C., 181.) When Black Hawk's band was being driven from Wisconsin Heights to the Mississippi, Gen. Street, the Indian Agent, wrote that "Carramana and Decor" were at Prairie du Chien. (2, W. H. C., 259.) Karray mau nee, had a

son by the same name, who was "of excellent character, and migrated with his tribe to Iowa." (3, W. H. C., 287.) When Moses Paquette was assembling the Winnebago to remove them in 1848 he says he met "Kayrah mau nee" who was a large fine looking man, between 70 or 80 years of age. He died at Dexterville on the Yellow river, Iowa. His Indian name was Maukeekishunka, or Shaking of the Earth. (12, W. H. C., 408.) It is said "Kerrymaunee" had one descendant living at Steven's Point in 1887. (13, W. H. C., do. 460.) Which of the acts and deeds referred to are those of Walking Turtle, or referable to his son, the records do not state. Dr. Draper says he was alive in 1840, yet his son of the same name was then an old man. When Walking Turtle, the companion of the warrior Tesumseh, went to his grave is not recorded. It is only certain that one of the name has been prominent for a century in the stirring border days. J O. Lewis painted the portrait of the elder "Kero mo nee" at the treaty of Little Butte des Morts, in 1827.

Little Elk, an uncle of Karraymaunee, was "a big man, a wise man, an orator and a good Indian" (13, W. H. C., 460.) His Indian name was Hoo wau nee kah. Lewis painted his portrait at Prairie du Chien in 1825 as "O wan ich koh." When at Washington with the members of the tribe, he was the orator and a person of distinction. Henry Clay complimented him on his appearance and as being the most talented member of the party. He was decidedly superior in ability to any other individuals of the tribe." (W., 75.)

Tete de Chien or Dogs Head, also known as Sarcel, Susell and the Teal," was of the Karray mau nee family. (11, W. H. C., 260-263; 9 *do.*, 300.) Augustin Grignon says he had a village at Green Lake in 1829, where he died before 1840, when the tribe removed to Iowa (3, W. H. C., 287.) Colonel McDougall at Mackinac referred to Tete di chien or Susell, in a communication to General Drummond in July 1814, as requesting the recapture of Prairie du Chien from the Americans, asserting that in its capture by them the brother of Sarcel had been killed with seven other Winnebago. (11, W. H. C., 260-263), a story which is not borne out by the facts, as there was no force present to dispute the taking possession of that post in

Plate 10.

TA KU HO HE GAR, OR JACOB RUSSELL, WINNEBAGO RESERVATION, THURSTON COUNTY, NEBRASKA, 1906.

Courtesy of the U. S. Bureau of Ethnology.

1814. He is reported as living in 1827, at "English Prairie," now Muscoda. The Teal "was a prominent man, of good sense, and honest." (9, W. H. C., 300.) When Judge Morgan L. Martin passed that way in 1829, he reported a Winnebago village on Green Lake prairie, which it is possible was that of the Teal.

White Crow, or Kau kich ka ka, was a commander of the Winnebago. Mrs. Kinzie speaks kindly of this chief. She mentions him as "Kay ray kaw saw kaw, the White Crow of Rock river." She says he was "a friend of the whites in the Sauk war. He had lost an eye and covered the deformity with a black silk handkerchief." Others speak of him as a "bad character, tall, slim, hawk nosed. One eye gouged out in a brawl," in 1832 (10 W. H. C., 253.) At the time of the Black Hawk war he was fifty years of age. (8, *do.,* 271; 10 *do.,* 186.) He has been called "the Cicero among the Indians, for his power of oratory and eloquence." (10 W. H. C., 185.) White Crow was not a war chief, but a prominent civil chief and orator. He signed the treaties of Butte des Morts in 1827, Green Bay in 1828 and of Rock Island in September 1832. He died about the year 1834, and was buried near where Cross Plains now stands. (10 W. H. C., 496.) His village was on the west or northwest shore of Mendota lake, on a high point of land known as Foxes Bluff, west of the mouth of the Catfish, about where is now the village of Pheasant Branch, in Dane county. The village, Saterlee Clark says, was built in the usual style of lodges, not wigwams, more like houses covered with white cedar bark, and contained a population of 1,200 souls. (10, W. H. C., 496; 8 *do.,* 313; 11 *do.,* 401.) Its location is also given as on Lake Koshkonong (8, W. H. C., 313). The council between the Winnebago on May 25, 1832, and Colonel Henry Dodge and Henry Gratiot, the sub-Indian agent, was held at this village, as the sympathies of the Winnebago in the Black Hawk troubles were uncertain, and here they gave assurance of fidelity "though little reliance was placed on their sincerity." (12, W. H. C., 245.) White Crow was sent to Black Hawk's camp by Henry Gratiot, sub-agent, for the Winnebago, to purchase the freedom of the two Hall girls who had

been taken to his camp alive from the slaughter at the Davis farm near Ottawa, Illinois. He purchased their freedom for $2000.00 in trinkets and horses. They were delivered to Gratiot at Blue Mounds Fort, June 3, 1832 (12, *do.*, 243), by a party of fifty Winnebago headed by White Crow. (8 W. H. C., 271; 10 *do.*, 185; 12, *do.*, 245.)

"That night he attempted to stir the Indians . . . . . into a conspiracy against Dodge's militiamen. But . . . . talked too freely, and the plot came to the ears of Dodge, who at once imprisoned the conspirator and his fellow chiefs and marched them, June 4, across country to Morrison's Grove. White Crow was released, but two of the others retained as hostages." (13, W. H. C., 452.)

On June 30, 1832, White Crow joined Dodge's forces with thirty braves at First or Kegonsa lake, to guide them to Black Hawk's camp at Hustisford, on the Rock river. It was at first thought he was leading Dodge into ambush. He was one of Paquette's party to guide Dodge and Henry from Fort Winnebago to Gen. Atkinson on Rock river. (13, W. H. C., 452; 12 *do.*, 248.)

White Pawnee or Pawnee Blanc, a son of White Crow, whose Indian name was Pa nee wak sa ka (7, W. H. C., 350), fought with Colonel Henry Dodge's detatchment at the battle of Wisconsin Heights. It is stated that he fought in the open like a white man. (10, W. H. C., 496.) He is described as:

"An old dandy surpassing in brilliant display of trinkets, arm bands, colored cloth, beads and feathers his younger rival, the Beau Brummell of the savages, Dandy." (W. 76.)

An account of his death and burial is given elsewhere.

White Cloud, or Wabokieshiik, the Prophet, was at the head of a Winnebago village about thirty-five miles above the mouth of the Rock river, in Illinois. He is thus described by Dr. Thwaites:

"White Cloud, the Prophet, was Black Hawk's evil genius. He was a shrewd, crafty Indian, half Winnebago and half Sac, possessing much influence over both nations from his assumption of sacred talents . . . . . He had many traits of character similar to those possessed by Tecumseh's brother, but in a less degree. His hatred of the whites was inveterate; he appears to have been devoid of human sentiments; he had a reckless disposition and seemed to enjoy sowing the seeds of discontent for the simple pleasure of witnessing a border chaos. He was about forty years of age when his sinister agitation bore fruit; was nearly six feet in height, stout and athletic, had a large, broad face, a short, blunt nose, full eyes, large mouth, a full

head of shaggy hair and his general appearance indicated deliberate, self-contented savagery. In council he displayed much zeal and persuasive oratory. In the matter of dress he must at times have been picturesque. An eye-witness, who was in attendance on a Pottawattomie council wherein the prophet was urging the cause of Black Hawk, describes the wizard as dressed in a faultless white buckskin suit, fringed at the seams; wearing a towering head-dress of the same material, capped with a bunch of fine eagle feathers; each ankle girt with a wreath of small sleigh bells, which jingled at every step, while in his nose and ears were ponderous gold rings gently tinkling against each other as he shook his ponderous head in the warmth of harangue." (12 W. H. C., 224.)

His name was also spelled Waubakeeshik, meaning "White eye." It is not certain that he was blind in one eye. His portrait, painted by R. M. Sully, is in the possession of the Wisconsin Historical Society. During the Black Hawk war (1832) he went to live with the Winnebago until the war was over, when he returned to the Sauk. He had a Sauk father and Winnebago mother.

Spotted Arm or Mau ha kee tshump kaw, (10, W. H. C., 186.) was also known as Broken Arm, or Broken Shoulder, and Ah shee sh ka, a phonetic spelling of the above. He fought under Tecumseh, and died a few years after the Black Hawk war. (13, W. H. C., 451-452.) Is said to have been of a "stalwart frame, great intelligence and sobriety." He was a prominent war chief of the Winnebago in 1832. His name was given him because of a severe wound received while assisting the British at the siege of Fort Meigs on the Maumee river in Ohio, in 1813. Here he distinguished himself, and afterward in honor of the occasion painted the wound to keep up the appearance of bleeding. He signed the Treaty of 1829, at Green Bay. J. O. Lewis painted his portrait in 1825, at the council at Prairie du Chien, under the name of "O Chee Na Shink Kaa, or the man who stands and strikes." On Chandler's map of the lead region, 1829, his village is noted as near the village of Exeter, on the Sugar river in Green county. He is said to have died in 1837. (10, W. H. C., 186-190.)

Little Priest, or Mor ah tshay kaw, was reputable, able, discreet, wise, moderate and friendly to the whites. His village was near Lake Koshkonong. His name appears in connection with the treaties of Green Bay in 1828, and Rock Island in 1832. His death occurred at a Winnebago village on White

creek, Adams county, Wisconsin, in 1882, when he was a very old man. One side of his nose had been sliced off in a brawl. With Whirling Thunder and Spotted Arm, Little Priest was held as a hostage for good behavior of the Winnebago tribe during the Black Hawk war (10, W. H. C., 186, 189, 253).

Winneshiek, was in 1829, head chief of the Winnebago village at La Crosse, and in 1855 was head chief of the Winnebago on the Turkey river, in Iowa, where a county is named for him. His name is also spelled Winnesheck and Winnosheek. (1, W. H. C., 11.) During the retreat of Black Hawk's band across the state to the Bad Axe, he was reported as being in the vicinity with part of the Winnebago band to hunt and dry meat. (2, W. H. C., 261.) The older Winneshiek is said to have been a good chief. The Indians in a drunken pow wow at Prairie du Chien had killed his brother. Word of this tragedy being sent to him, he coolly loaded his pistol, and with it concealed beneath his blanket, went to the place where his brother lay. He had the murderer brought beside his victim and then suddenly shot him dead. (3, W. H. C., 287.) *Winneshiek the Younger,* son of the old chief, was held as a hostage in 1827 by Colonel Dodge for the good behavior of the tribe. (2, W. H. C., 331.) His village in 1852, was in Iowa opposite a point in Wisconsin, five miles below the Bad Axe river. (1852, G. W., 44, 502.) In 1855; he was head chief of the Winnebago on the Turkey river in Iowa. (2, W. H. C., 331.) In 1857, he was called a worthy chief and ruler of his band. (3, W. H. C., 287.)

Whirling Thunder, or Waw kaun ween kaw, "a man of great repute for his sagacity and wisdom in council", (10, W. H. C., 253.) signed the treaty of Rock Island in September, 1832. La Ronde spells the name Wau kon ge weka. His band is reported as having their village near Lake Koshkonong. (10, W. H. C. 186.) In 1836, his village was located on the site of Portage, north of the city end of the present Wisconsin river bridge. (12, W. H. C., 421.) He died at Turkey river, Iowa.

Mau ze mon eka, or the Iron Walker, a son of Whirling Thunder, shot Pierre Paquette at Portage, October 1836, because he supposed the tribe wronged by the large amount of Paquette's claim against the funds due it. His band resided "a mile or two above the present locality of Watertown." (7,

W. H. C., 252; 12, *do.*, 402.) When Captain Thompson was out with a party of soldiers gathering up the Winnebago to remove them in 1840, he came upon a young Indian whom he induced to lead him to "Man ze mon ekis" camp, which was on an island in Lake Horicon, then called Winnebago swamp. He was surrounded before he was aware of the presence of the soldiers in the hidden camp. On reaching Prairie du Chien he disappeared and was never found.

Pacan was the head of a robber band. In 1788, a trader named Ace had a post a mile and a half up the Fond du Lac river at the head of Lake Winnebago. Pacan with several Winnebago Indians of White Dog's band, residing on Rock river and regarded as the outlaws of the nation, came to the Ace trading post, told an engage that there were some ducks in the river, and as he went to shoot the ducks, he was shot dead by Winnebago who were concealed in the thicket. One of them ran to tell Ace of his man's death, and as he went to see, he was shot down by Pacan, who seemed to be the leader of the murders. Mrs. Ace kept the savages off with a shot gun, and saved herself and children, until a friendly Winnebago chief came from the neighboring village, located where Taycheedah now is, and drove Pacan and his party away. The friendly Winnebago escorted Mrs. Ace and her children to Green Bay. Pacan was a small homely man, quite old and had a defective eye. His son in a quarrel with his sister's husband, a young chief, bit off his nose. The chief to avenge himself, killed old Pacan, his father-in-law. (3, W. H. C., 264.)

Big Hawk was the head of a Winnebago village reported in 1878 as located on the southeast shore of Pike Lake, in Marathon county. (H. A. W., 104.) He was a descendant of the famous chief Kayrahmaunee (Walking Turtle).

"Big Hawk is about sixty years of age. He is a young-looking, finely formed Indian, some five feet ten inches in height. with small mustaches; he is sober, of good habits, and with a high sense of honor. He has a regulation homestead of forty acres on Pike Lake, in Marathon county, a portion of which he cultivates, eking out an existence by hunting." (12 W. H. C., 417—418.)

The refusal of himself and his band to accept the government bounty has been told. A portrait of this chief is given in Plate 6.

Little Medicine Man, "was a fine looking man, under ordinary size, quiet subdued and gentlemanly." (10, W. H. C, 253.) *Big Fox.* was the name of a Winnebago Indian, whose lodge was on Fox Lake in 1832. (7, W. H. C., 352.) *Grizzley Bear* had a Winnebago village on Fox Lake, in Dodge county, before 1887. (13, W. H. C., 460.) *Mach koo kah* had a village on the north shore of Fox lake in 1838. (5, W. A., 312.) *Chas ka ka,* or White Ox, was at Portage in 1833. His son was shot there and his death revenged by his brother. (7, W. H. C., 352.) *Little Hill* served in the Black Hawk war. (7, W. H C., 309.) *Little Thunder* acted as a guide in Colonel Dodge's command in that war.

Tuk English, was a remarkably handsome, powerful young Indian, in 1830. He had been on a journey to Washington. *Little Duck* had his home in Yellow Thunder's summer home, sixteen miles up the river from Portage, in 1840. (7, W. H. C., 398.) J. O. Lewis painted his portrait at Little Butte des Morts, in 1827, as "She Sheba, or The Little Duck, a celebrated Winnebago chief."

White Breast, or Mounk shak kah, had a Winnebago village at Horicon, a short distance north of the C. M. & St. P. Ry. crossing of the Rock river. (5, W. A., 317.) In 1836, there was a Winnebago village of five or six wigwams on the present site of Mauston, in Juneau county, presided over by *To Kau nee.* (7, W. H. C., 359; 5, W. A., 340.) The Winnebago village of *Blue Wing* was reported before 1892, as near Tomah, in Monroe county. (12, W. H. C., 340.) The village of *Little Sioux* was located three quarters of a mile up the Baraboo river from Reedsburg, in 1832. (7, W. H. C., 351.) J. O. Lewis presents a painting of "*Too sha na gan ka* or the Little Otter, a "Winebago chief, painted at Massinnewa, Indiana, 1827." He also presents the picture of *Waa kaun see kaa,* or the Rattlesnake, a Winnebago chief painted at the treaty of Prairie du Chien, 1825," who cannot be identified with other biographies presented here. *Nees ka ka* was a cousin of Dandy. There was a *Wau kon ja kon ka* whose portrait appears in a group in the possession of the State Historical Society.

Several Winnebago villages are reported to which no chief or head man is assigned. Judge Martin mentions one "on Rock

river near Waupun," in 1829 (10, W. H. C., 74), and a cluster of Winnebago wigwams in 1829, at the head of Lake Horicon, or Horicon marsh, the source of Rock river (11, W. H. C., 401), and "a few Winnebago Indians on the south shore of Third Lake," now known as Monona. There were Winnebago villages on the Lemonweir river, also called in early days, "Monois." (2, W. H. C., 178.) Chapman's map shows a village at the southeast side of Lake Waubesa, south of Madison. (11, W. H. C., 401; 10, *do.*, 74.) A village is reported as located at Mud lake, in Portland township, Dodge county from 1840 to 1860. (5, W. A., 313.) Another was on the west side of the Rock river on the site of Hustiford, Dodge county. (5, W., 318.) A mixed Winnebago and Menominee camp was at Theresa, Dodge county. (A. W., 60; 5, W. A., 319.) Mention is made of Winnebago villages on Lee's (Carcajou) Point, Lake Koshkonong, (5, W. A., 336.), and on the west side of Rock river, at Watertown (do., 338.) This last may have been the village of Mau ze mon eka, before mentioned. Mr. J. G. Pickett reported a Winnebago village as located up to as late as the year 1846, at the outlet of Rush Lake in Winnebago county (2, W. A., 80). Other villages were located on the south shore of Lake Puckaway; on the Crawfish river near Aztalan; at the junction of the Yahara and Rock rivers and on the shores of lakes Monona and Waubesa (18, B. E., pt. 2, pl. CLXXI).*

Antiquities.

Dr. Cyrus Thomas, Dr. Stephen D. Peet and others who have conducted archaeological researches in Wisconsin, have given it as their opinion that the ancestors of the Winnebago are the probable authors of the very numerous and interesting groups of effigy mounds for which this region is justly celebrated among archaeologists. This contention is based upon their prehistoric occupancy of the effigy mound region, and upon other information. The effigies are considered to represent the clan totems of their builders. (See 19, A. A., 11-18; 2, P. A., 375-398.) If such a custom ever prevailed among the Winnebago, or their kinsmen, the Dakota, it had evidently been dis-

*There was a Winnebago village near Dayton, Green county. Hist. Atlas Wis., 211.

continued before the advent of the white explorers, as these make no mention of it and appear not to have even noted these strange earthen monuments. The later Winnebago when questioned could give no information concerning them.

In an early number of the Wisconsin Archeologist, the author has fully described and figured the several groups of effigy and other mounds, the remains of an earthen embankment, evidences of early cultivation and other archaeological features associated with the site of the early habitat of the Winnebago on Doty island, and occuring in the vicinity. (2, W. A., 43-59.) Dr. I. A. Lapham has also described some of these. (A. W., 61-62.)

Although no very extended or careful exploration of the village site has ever been made, a large number of archaeological materials have been recovered therefrom, chiefly in the course of the cultivation of certain of the properties which it occupies. Some of these specimens, selected from among those in the author's own cabinet are illustrated in this publication. (See Plates 2, 5, 7, 9, 11). A very considerable number of others are scattered through various public and private collections in Wisconsin, and elsewhere. Geo. A. West figures an ovoid pipe from a mound, and a catlinite disk pipe from Doty island (4, W. A., 139, 150). Harlan I. Smith in his catalogue of Wisconsin archaeological materials in the American Museum of Natural History, lists a number of specimens from Doty island. These include a catlinite pipe, several copper spearpoints and a copper harpoon. Some of these were obtained from the mounds. (6, W. A., 27, 41, 42.)

At the water's edge, near the Doty homestead, is still to be seen a large trap boulder, which has upon its surface several shallow depressions, said to have been employed by the Indians in grinding their corn. Elsewhere in this bulletin other information concerning the antiquities of the Winnebago tribe is presented.

The Winnebago are said to possess a valuable collection of wampum belts. A list giving the names and a brief description of one of these has been published (I. N., 34-35.) In the collections of the State Historical Society are various Winnebago materials of interest and value.

Plate 11.

FLINT ARROW AND SPEARPOINTS, DOTY ISLAND SITE.

APPENDIX.

Explanation of Reference Notes.

A. A. The American Antiquarian.

A. W. The Antiquities of Wisconsin. I. A. Lapham. 1855.

B. B. The Bravest of the Brave. P. V. Lawson. 1904.

B. B. E. Bulletin of the Bureau of Ethnology. The Siouan Tribes of the East. James Mooney, 1894.

B. E. The Annual Reports of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

C. T. Carver's Travels.

G. W. Geology of Wisconsin. Owen. 1852.

H. A. I. Handbook of American Indians. Bureau of American Ethnology. Bulletin 30.

H. I. T. Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian tribes of the United States. Henry R. Schoolcraft.

H. S. B. G. Historical Sketch of Baraboo and Greenfield. W. H. Canfield. Baraboo, 1891.

H. W. C. History of Winnebago County. R. J. Harney. 1880.

I. N. The Indian, the Northwest. C. & N. W. Ry., 1901.

J. R. Jesuit Relations.

M. H. C. Collections of the State Historical Society of Minnesota.

N. C. H. A. Narrative and Critical History of America. Justin Winsor.

O. A. H. Q. Ohio Archaeological and Historical Quarterly.

P. A. Prehistoric America. S. D. Peet. 1898.

P. P. M. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. The Mandans.

P. S. H. S. Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

S. I. S. Some Idols of the Savages. Milwaukee Sentinel, Nov. 12, 1899. P. V. Lawson.

U. M. Upper Mississippi or Historical Sketches. George Gale. 1867..

W. Waubun, or the Early Day in the Northwest. Mrs. J. H. Kinzie. 1857.

W. A. The Wisconsin Archeologist.

W. B. M. Who Built the Mounds. P. R. Hoy. 1886.

W. E. M. Winona and its Environs on the Mississippi. L. H. Bunnell. 1897.

W. H. C. Collections of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

Wisconsin Archæological Society.

Organized Sept. 12, [illegible] — Incorporated March 24, [illegible]

WHAT IT IS DOING FOR THE PUBLIC

[illegible] to the historical and educational importance of [illegible].

[illegible] preservation of Wisconsin mounds. Protecting others from [illegible].

[illegible] in all parts of the state.

[illegible] mines and other matter relating to the early [illegible] of the state is preserved.

[illegible] establishment of collections of local aboriginal and [illegible] in the educational institutions of the state.

Providing for the free distribution of its publications to these institutions.

Establishing a travelling library of archæological and historical literature.

Holding public meetings and lectures.

Discouraging the manufacture and sale of fraudulent antiquities.

Advocating the establishment of a chair of American archæology at Wisconsin University and courses in archæology at other state colleges.

WHAT IT IS DOING FOR ITS MEMBERS

[illegible] in its sessions, lectures and [illegible].

[illegible] participation in its field-meetings.

[illegible]

[illegible] the Wisconsin Archæologist.

[illegible] among those actively interested.

[illegible] intelligent collection.

WHAT IT NEEDS

[illegible] in all parts of the state.

[illegible] work.

[illegible] everywhere.

PUBLICATIONS

[illegible]

Vol. [illegible] October to December, [illegible] No. [illegible]

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

[illegible] Transactions of the Wisconsin Archeological Society

[illegible]

[illegible]

THE INDIAN AUTHORSHIP OF WISCONSIN ANTIQUITIES

[illegible]

W. H. ELLSWORTH,
President, Wisconsin Archeological Society.

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

And Transactions of the Wisconsin Archeological Society

Volume 6, Number 4

October to December, 1907

ILLUSTRATED

Issued by the Wisconsin Archeological Society
Milwaukee, Wis.
Charles E. Brown, Secretary and Curator

Published by Authority of Law

MADISON
DEMOCRAT PRINTING COMPANY, STATE PRINTER
1907

Wisconsin Archeological Society

MILWAUKEE, WIS.

Incorporated March 23, 1903, for the purpose of advancing the study and preservation of Wisconsin antiquities.

OFFICERS

PRESIDENT

W. H. Ellsworth

VICE-PRESIDENTS

R. L. Porter G. A. West A. B. Stout
Dr. Wm. Metzdorf Dr. Louis Falge

DIRECTORS

O. J. Habhegger Jos. Ringeisen, Jr.

TREASURER

L. R. Whitney

SECRETARY AND CURATOR

Charles E. Brown

COMMITTEES

SURVEY, RESEARCH AND RECORD

P. V. Lawson H. L. Skavlem Dr. A. Gerend G. H. Reynolds
G. H. Squier O. P. Olson S. D. Mitchell H. P. Hamilton

COLLECTIONS

Dr. Geo. L. Collie J. P. Schumacher E. F. Richter
Dr. W. O. Carrier Dr. Leopold Drexel J. W. Evans

MEMBERSHIP

Chas. Bodenbach O. T. Lahman Mrs. A. J. Pierce
Horace McElroy Rev. B. G. Traudt H. D. Hill
W. H. Elkey Fred Braun

PRESS

Ellis B. Usher C. W. Lamb Miss Belle Blend C. H. Ellsworth

MAN MOUND PRESERVATION

A. B. Stout H. E. Cole J. Van Orden
Miss Julia A. Lapham C. E. Brown

SESSIONS

These are held in the Lecture Room in the Library-Museum Building, in Milwaukee, on the third Monday of each month, at 8 P. M.

During the months of July to October no meetings will be held.

MEMBERSHIP FEES

Life Members, $25.00. Sustaining Members, $5.00
Annual Members, $2.00

All communications in regard to the Archeological Society or to the "Wisconsin Archeologist" should be addressed to C. E. Brown, Secretary and Curator, Office, 1214 Chestnut St., Milwaukee, Wis.

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

W. H. Ellsworth, President, Wisconsin Archeological Society, ... Frontispiece

Plate — Facing page

1. Zahn mound, Rantoul Township, Calumet county..... 170
2. Cross section of grave of Julien Dubuque..... 178
3. Indian cornfield, Carroll college grounds, Waukesha..... 186
4. Dewey mounds, Pishtaka, Waukesha county..... 194
5. Plan of Dewey mounds, Pishtaka, Waukesha county..... 202
6. Clyde group, Clyde township, Iowa county..... 210
7. Boulder effigy, Hughes county, North Dakota..... 218
8. Rattlesnake, a Winnebago chief..... 226
9. Kingston group, Sumpter township, Sauk county..... 234
10. Aztalan 242
11. Aztalan "Brickets" 250

INDEX

Vol. 6, No. 4.

Introduction 167

I.

Theories as to Who Built the Mounds..... 169
Indian Traditions of Mound Building..... 175
Mounds Built by Historic Indians..... 178

II.

Grade of Culture of the Mound Builders..... 186
Similarity of Burial Customs of the Mound Builders and Indians 187
Aboriginal Agriculture 190
Division of Labor..... 195

III.

Character of Works..... 197
Conical Mounds 198
Chain Mounds 198
Linear or Wall-shaped Mounds..... 199
Effigy Mounds 200
Boulder Effigies 203
Relative Age of Works..... 205

IV.

Knowledge Necessary for the Construction of Mounds..... 208
Time Required to Erect..... 210
Age as Indicated by Trees..... 211
By Human Bones..... 215
Materials of Modern Date in Mounds..... 217

V.

Aztalan 219
Walls of Brick..... 222
Its Religious Significance..... 223
Culture and Authorship..... 227
Other Enclosures 230

VI.

Copper Mines at Lake Superior..... 232
Source of the Metal Known to Early Historic Indians..... 235
Mining of Copper and Use of Copper Implements by Upper Mississippi Valley Tribes..... 237

VII.

Arrival of the Siouan and Algonquian Tribes in Wisconsin..... 242
The Winnebago, the Authors of Wisconsin's Effigy Mounds and Associated Earthworks 244
Concluding Remarks 252

Appendix

Explanation of Reference Notes..... 254

THE WISCONSIN ARCHEOLOGIST

A Quarterly Bulletin Published by the Wisconsin Archeological Society.

Vol. 6. MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCT. TO DEC., 1907. No. 4.

INTRODUCTION.

The present publication is issued by the Wisconsin Archeological Society to satisfy the now rapidly growing demand on the part of Wisconsin citizens for accurate information on the subject of the authorship of our state's antiquities. It aims to place at the command of those who are interested in learning the truth, but have not the time, opportunity, or perhaps the patience to digest the vast amount of valuable information which has accumulated on the subject, in condensed form, a compilation of the evidence upon which the present accepted theories are based.

Although years of patient investigation conducted according to enlightened methods by distinguished American archaeologists and by competent field workers of less prominence in every part of our country have done much to destroy the prevailing superstitions concerning the authorship of our antiquities, there are yet among our citizens many for whom the favorite theory of a mysterious, lost race of "Mound Builders" has a fascination not readily dispersed. The antiquated publications of misguided authors, frequent fanciful newspaper articles and contributions to popular periodicals, and the exaggerated statements of lecturers, of relic hunters and others possessing a smattering archaeological knowledge are responsible for such ridiculous and erroneous beliefs.

The author is especially indebted to Curator Chas. E. Brown for assistance in collecting and compiling the information presented. To Dr. W. J. McGee, Prof. N. H. Winchell, Dr. Fredderick Starr, Dr. W. C. Mills, Dr. David Boyle, Dr. Cyrus Thomas, Mr. Gerard Fowke, Mr. Clarence B. Moore, Mr. Warren H. Upham, Dr. W. K. Moorhead, Prof. T. H. Lewis, Dr. J. F. Snyder, Dr. C. A. Peterson, Mr. Clark McAdams, Mr. James Mooney, Mr. Richard Herrmann, Dr. W. B. Hinsdale, Mr. G. E. Laidlaw, Gen. G. P. Thruston, Miss Alice Fletcher, Mr. D. I. Bushnell and others, and to various Wisconsin students, he expresses his grateful thanks for valuable information and suggestions.

THE INDIAN AUTHORSHIP OF WISCONSIN ANTIQUITIES.

GEO. A. WEST.

I.

Theories as to Who Built the Mounds, Indian Traditions of Mound Building, Mounds Built by Historic Indians.

Theories as to Who Built the Mounds.

Artificial mounds are of common occurrence throughout the eastern half of the United States, from Florida on the south to the British possessions on the north. They are constructed in many forms and were evidently designed for various purposes. Their location is usually on or near water courses; the canoe being the principal means of transportation and the streams the highways of their authors.

Among the first to advance theories as to the origin of the few of these earthworks that had come to their notice, were Dr. Franklin, Thomas Jefferson, President Styles, of Yale College, and Noah Webster. Dr. Franklin believed that they were constructed by Spanish explorers. Webster at first agreed with him but later attributed their building to the Indians. Dr. Benjamin S. Barton, in 1797, thought that they were the work of "lost races," which has until recently been the most popular belief with the public in general.

A few years later, Rev. T. M. Harris of Massachussets advanced the idea that the Toltecs were the authors of these monuments, which theory was accepted by many prominent writers on the subject of archaeology. Others followed with suggestions that the Aztecs, Pueblos, Tartars, Caribs, Welsh, etc., were concerned in their construction. These, and all such fanciful theories as those which assign the construction

of the earthworks and associated antiquities of our country to a distinct race of people generally referred to as the "Mound Builders," have now been utterly destroyed by the results of modern scientific investigation. Those of our readers who desire to fully acquaint themselves with these early theories will find them assembled by Dr. Cyrus Thomas, in the 12th Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology, and by Mr. Gerard Fowke in the Archaeological History of Ohio.

Writing over a century ago, Bishop Madison could see no very good reason why the authorship of the mounds could not properly be attributed to the Indians or their ancestors. His view was subsequently concurred in by such early writers as Dr. McCullough, Samuel G. Drake, Dr. Haven and Henry Schoolcraft.

Although Wisconsin is one of the greatest mound districts of America, it was not known to the early writers on the subject. It remained for Dr. I. A. Lapham to bring these to public notice, and to suggest their origin. In his "Antiquities of Wisconsin," issued in 1855, he said:

"The progress of discovery seems constantly to diminish the distinction between the ancient and modern races; and it may not be very wide of the truth to assert that they were the same people."

In the concluding remarks of this valuable work he says:

"We may therefore, without assuming any farfetched theories, suppose that a nation or tribe of redmen formerly occupied the country now known as Wisconsin, whose superstitions, ceremonies, and beliefs, required the erection of mounds of earth of the various forms represented on the plats accompanying this work; and that these tribes may have emigrated, or been driven off by others having no veneration for their ancient monuments. These subsequent tribes may or may not be the same that until very recently occupied that country. * * * It is quite certain that these later tribes continued the practice of mound-building so far as to erect a circular or conical tumulus over their dead. This practice appears to be a remnant of ancient customs that connects the mound-builders with the present tribes."—,89.

After a further discussion of the subject in which he predicts that "a more thorough knowledge of the habits, religious ceremonies and superstitious beliefs of Siouan tribes will throw much light on the obscure subject of the mounds," he concludes as follows:

"It is by considerations of this nature that we are led to the conclusion that the mound-builders of Wisconsin were none others than the ancestors of the present tribes of Indians."—,90.

Plate I.

ZAHN MOUND.
Rantoul Township, Calumet County.

Courtesy of Dr. Louis Falge

Dr. P. R Hoy, who in his lifetime was a leading Wisconsin archaeologist, in 1886 presented before the Wisconsin Academy of Sciences, Arts and Letters, a paper entitled "Who Built the Mounds?", in which was given quite an array of historical facts, and the results of his own observations, which together formed a most convincing argument in favor of the Indian authorship of Wisconsin mounds.

He concluded his paper by saying:

"In view of the foregoing evidence, the legitimate conclusion must follow that the "mound-builders" were Indians, and nothing but Indians, the immediate ancestors of the present tribes as well as many other Indians that formerly were scattered over this country. Differing in habits of life and language, just as the Indians of the several tribes did before the white man changed them, they continued to build mounds after they had communication with Europeans, since which time mound-building, together with many of the arts of the red man, such as making wampum, flint, stone and copper implements, pottery, etc., have declined and nearly quite ceased."—Hoy, 30.

In 1890, Dr. Cyrus Thomas, working under the direction of the Bureau of Ethnology, concluded an exhaustive investigation of the antiquities of several states, including a portion of southern Wisconsin. In his report, published in the 12th Annual Report of the Bureau, he gives his conclusion that:

"The links directly connecting the Indians and mound builders are so well established that archaeologists are justified in accepting the theory that they are one and the same people."—XLVIII.

Dr. Stephen D. Peet, editor of the American Antiquarian, who has devoted many years to the study and investigation of the antiquities of this state, attributes these works to the successive Indian tribes that inhabited Wisconsin soil, as his many publications on the subject indicate.

Dr. C. A. Peterson, in his paper, "The Mound Building Age of North America," read before the Missouri Historical Society, at St. Louis, in 1902, said:

"Probably the greatest superstition that has ever grown up among a civilized people, within historic times, has been the belief in a prehistoric race of mound-builders in North America. This error has been so industriously inculcated, for several generations, that it has assumed almost the dignity of some of the ancient myths."

After a strong argument supporting this proposition, he concludes by stating:

"Let it be reiterated that there was never an iota of evidence in existence tending to establish the contention that some people, other

than the American Indian, erected the mounds and other earthworks found in connection with them, and the physical condition of these abandoned works, and their contents, does not justify a belief that any of them were erected more than one thousand years ago."—Peterson, 16.

The early theories as to the authorship of the mounds, could not have been deduced from personal investigation, and consequently are mere assumptions. Later, as the result of intelligent explorations, opinions gradually changed to a quite general, "not quite certain," belief that the Indians were the authors of these works. But today, in the light of half a century of actual scientific research, this hypothesis has become an accepted fact. This is evidenced by the recent opinions, invited by the author, of prominent authorities on the subject, and from which the following are extracts:

Dr. J. F. Snyder, president of the Illinois State Historical Society, and an archaeologist of note, says:

"The customs, habits, and perhaps, mythology of the effigy mound-builders of Wisconsin varied from the customs, habits, and mythology of those who built the Etowah mound of Georgia, the Cahokia mound of Illinois, and the Cassa Grandes of Arizona; but there is no reason to doubt that they were *all* North American Indians, possessing, in the main, the same identical mental and physical characteristics, and the same in origin."—Dec. 6, 1906.

Mr. D. I. Bushnell, of St. Louis, an archaeological student of prominence, gives his opinion in the following words:

"When a man disputes the statement that Indians erected every mound in the United States, ask him for evidence that there has ever been anyone else in this country to do it. There is no such evidence, despite all assertions to the contrary. This is my opinion as to who built the Wisconsin mounds as well as other mounds found in this country."—Dec. 6, 1906.

Dr. Reuben G. Thwaites, secretary of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin, says:

"I consider it as now thoroughly established by the most competent students of American ethnology that the artifical earthworks of the Mississippi Valley, of which Wisconsin contains so many interesting specimens, were built by ordinary North American Indians, the progenitors of the aborigines whom we still have with us."—Dec. 6, 1906.

Dr. W. C. Mills, curator of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, states:

"I think your conclusions are correct, that the Mound Builders were the ancestors of the Indians. In Ohio we find two great cultures apparently extending into the state from the south-west and covering the

entire state. A little later we find what Mr. Holmes terms as the "North-West Group" and which I have called the Hopewell Culture, for my own convenience and the other group the Fort Ancient Culture. I find that the Hopewell Group extends into the state from the north-west."—Dec. 14, 1906.

Dr. Warren K. Moorehead, of the department of American Archaeology at Phillips Academy, Andover, Massachusetts, the well-known author of many valuable archaeological works, writes:

"The subject you mention—who built the mounds—is one of interest and importance. Indians, yes; modern Indians, no. No mound in the Ohio valley is modern. Yours in Wisconsin may be, I cannot judge as to that. * * *

"The Hopewell culture was proved to be prehistoric, I am convinced that all other Ohio mounds were such. Our later Indians there buried in graves or trenches. Your mounds were built by red-men undoubtedly. I hold no belief for the high civilization of the mound builders." That belief of years ago is now exploded.—Dec. 13, 1906.

Dr. C. A. Peterson, president of the Missouri Historical Society, and a writer of positive convictions, says:

"In expressing my views on the origin of the Wisconsin mounds, I can not do better than to refer you to my paper on the subject, "The Mound Building Age in North America," read before the Missouri Historical Society, on February 13, 1902, which you have already seen. My views are condensed in the opening and closing paragraphs of that paper, and I could not improve them in a revision of these paragraphs." —Dec. 12, 1906.

Dr. Cyrus Thomas, the author of many contributions to archaeological knowledge, writes from Washington, D. C.,:

"I have made no change in the opinion regarding the Wisconsin mounds expressed in the 12th Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.—Dec. 15, 1906.

Dr. W. B. Hinsdale of the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, an authority on Michigan antiquities, writes:

"It is no longer necessary to introduce the hypothetical mound-builder into the problem. To be sure, whoever made them were mound-builders, but not in the sense they were a race materially different, if different at all, from the Indians."—Dec. 13, 1906.

Dr. David Boyle of the Provincial Museum of Ontario, the distinguished Canadian archaeologist, expresses his opinion thus:

"I think I am safe in saying that the concensus of opinion is strongly in favor of the contention that the mounds were built by just plain Indians. I do not mean Indians of the plain, but just common Indians. There are many reasons for arriving at this conclusion; one is that as

since European contact, travellers have seen Indians at work in the erection of these earth works. Another reason is that we have not yet found anything in these mounds indicating a higher condition of development than we find among the Indians themselves or than we find in places of sepulchre or other earthworks. It is of course very sad to think that this theory or belief is calculated to demolish utterly the long and pleasantly entertained idea that the mound-builders were a happy and cultivated people, given to agriculture, and horticulture, keeping immense herds of buffalo cows and generally conducting themselves like people who go to church nowadays, but who were driven off or cruelly massacred by the blood thirsty and malevolent beings whom we now call Indians."—Dec. 15, 1906.

Mr. G. E. Laidlaw, of the Province of Ontario, Canada, an archaeological investigator of prominence, writes:

"My idea as to the construction of the mounds in Wisconsin is that they were built from time to time by various tribes of Indians, who developed enough locally to construct the several groups. I do not think that there was a distinct race of people who did nothing else but construct mounds, and who were later exterminated by the people we call Indians. The Indians did the work. From a careful study of the subject I am convinced that these "mounds" were a development of local environment and also that the "Copper miners" of Lake Superior were "Indians" too, and not a distinct race."—Jan. 11, 1907.

Mr. Clarence B. Moore, of Philadelphia, who has spared neither time nor money in the conducting of researches in the Southern States, and has published most valuable reports of the results of his investigations, says:

"I believe that the Indians or their ancestors built the mounds now found in the United States, but I am no believer in the theory put forth in certain quarters, that the mounds are all of recent origin and that objects found in them showing considerable artistic development owe their origin to the influence of Europeans. I am firmly convinced that many of the mounds with all their contents, including pipes, copper, pottery, etc., long antedate the coming of Columbus."—Dec. 3, 1906.

The evidence that the Wisconsin mounds are the work of the Indians is so conclusive that a discussion of the subject would almost seem to demand an apology, were it not that a presentation of the facts upon which such a conclusion is based, seems necessary in order that the student may possess a foundation for more extended research along the same lines.

Indian Traditions of Mound Building.

Early authors favoring the now shattered theory of a vanished race of "Mound Builders," never failed to attach the greatest importance to what appeared to them to be a general absence of tradition or information among the historic Indians concerning the authorship of the earthworks within the boundaries of their habitats. This lack of such information concerning the remains in various districts, and including those of Wisconsin, later and more competent investigators have clearly shown to be due to one or another of the following and other causes:

To the inability or failure of various tribes to preserve their traditions for any considerable length of time; to their unwillingness to communicate information which they actually possess; to the failure on the part of early writers and of others having the opportunity to do so, to collect and record such data, and to the frequent shifting of the tribes themselves.

According to Force:

"Indian tradition is short lived and evanescent, except the Creeks, there is scarcely a tribe that has trustworthy tradition of their own annals a century old. The expedition of De Soto is a striking instance of the faint hold tradition had among them. It is hard to imagine anything calculated to make a deeper and more lasting impression on them than the sudden appearance among them of an array of strange beings of different color; bearded, wearing garments and armor of unheard of color and material; mounted on animals that were beyond all experience; armed with thunder and lightning, striding across the continent with a thousand manacled prisoners as slaves, destroying their strongest towns and laying waste their country, and finally wasting away and driven down the river to the great sea, helpless fugitives. Yet when Europeans next visited the country, a century and a half later, they found not a vestige of a tradition of De Soto.

"Besides, the Indians often changed their place of residence. In their continued warfare, entire tribes were not unfrequently exterminated. Jaques Cartier found the Iroquois at Montreal in 1835. Champlain found them between lakes Ontario and Champlain in 1612."—Force, Mounds, 58.

E. G. Squier, who in 1851 published his "Antiquities of New York and the West," says of the earthworks of that state:

"I am aware that the remnants of the Indian stock which still exist in the state, generally profess total ignorance of these works. I do not

however attach much importance to this circumstance. When we consider the extreme likelihood of the forgetfulness of ancient practices, in the lapse of 300 years, the lack of knowledge upon this point is the weakest of all negative evidence."—p. 140.

According to history, many of the northwestern tribes, after the advent of the whites, were continually changing their places of abode. The territory now known as Wisconsin has, within historic times, been the dwelling place of various Indian tribes and some of these might well be without knowledge concerning the mounds found in their new homes, and of which their own tribe did not build.

Hoy states that:

"None of the Indians of the present time (1886) have traditions running back as far as Allouez and Marquette, or even to the more recent time of Jonathan Carver. Is it not strange that they have no knowledge of these men?

"The Winnebagoes and Menomonees assert positively that they never made flint arrow heads, stone axes or pottery, and that these things must have been made by someone else. White Snake, a chief of the Winnebagos said in all sincerity, they were never made by the Indians." —Quoted from Lapham, 90.

Dr. W. J. Hoffman, who has in recent years published the results of a careful study of the history, manners and customs of the Menomonee, asserts that:—

"The Menomini Indians admit having manufactured stone weapons until "several centuries" ago. But they actually used stone arrows within a comparatively recent period, and these, on account of their rarity and the superstition connected therewith, have been retained to this day and used as amulets by the mitä'wok."—Hoffman, B. E. 14, 281.

The general belief that the Indians have preserved no traditions in reference to mound building is incorrect.

Col. C. W. Jenckes, superintendent of the Corundum mines in western North Carolina, says:—

"We have Indians all about us, with traditions extending back for 500 years. In this time they have buried their dead under huge piles of stone."—Foster, 149.

Gen. Geo. Rogers Clark, who was well acquainted with the Indians, states that a tradition existed among the Cherokee that the earthworks of their country were built by their ancestors. (Schoolcraft, 135.)

Clark's statement is borne out by the chronicles of De Soto's expedition. (Chr. 10th, Peabody, 75.)

The Iroquois possessed a tradition in regard to a burial mound about six feet high, near Botavia, Genesee county, New York. Rev. Mr. Kirkland learned from them that it was raised after a battle between the Senecas and Western Indians. (Moulton, v. 1, 16.) Another tradition indicates that this mound and works near it are of Iroquois origin. (Champlain, Iroquois, 442.)

Peet says of the Wisconsin mounds:

"There are to be sure, a few among the Algonquin Indians who maintain that their ancestors built the effigies. The writer has had conversation with the son of the old Indian chief Oshkosh and put this inquiry to him. He said that the Menomonees built the mounds as tribal records, and to mark places where they had had battles. On saying that the effigies were not in the Menomonee territory, he answered that they were all over and all the tribes built them."—Preh. Am. 2, 219.

Certain Chippewa traditions attribute the building of the Wisconsin and Minnesota mounds to the Dakota.

McKenney, a former superintendent of Indian affairs, was informed by an aged Indian that the two mounds located "on Lake Winnebago, Wisconsin, known as Le Grande and Le Petit Butte des Morts, were erected over the bodies of Fox warriors who had been killed in a battle with the Iroquois." (Memories, 84.)

An aged Winnebago chief is reported to have related to a Mr. Pliny Warriner in 1828, the tale of a series of battles between his tribe and the Sac and Fox, and from which the following is extracted:

"At the Blue Mounds we fought them; and there we were joined by the Pottawatomies, and they by the Menominies. At the mouth of the Wisconsin they made mounds, and put their women and children behind them, for they expected a great battle."

He explained to Mr. Warriner that certain mounds at Butte des Morts, where his party was then halted:

"Were raised, each over the grave of some renowned chief, who fell in the great battle there."—Wis. Hist. Colls., V. 1, 30.

Other traditions are not wanting, and may be consulted in the works of Fowke, Thomas and of other authors.

Mounds Built by Historic Indians.

On the subject of the actual construction and use of mounds by American Indians of early historic times the pages of history are not silent. A considerable amount of valuable information has been collected and is now available to the student in the publications of Lucien Carr, Fowke, Thomas, and of other archaeologists of distinction. Carr especially by his careful and "exhaustive examination of early literature" has proven "conclusively that the Indian, as known to the whites, cultivated the ground extensively, was a sun worshipper, and constructed earthen mounds and enclosures, often of great size and area." (Fowke, Ohio, 445–6.) Thomas offers this positive statement:

"History also bears us out in the assertion that at the time of the discovery nine tenths of the tribes in the mound district had fixed seats and local habitations, depending to a great extent for sustenance upon the cultivation of the soil. So far as the southern districts, now comprising the Gulf States, are concerned, it goes further and asserts over and over again that the tribes of that section were mound-builders when first encountered by the whites. To verify this assertion it is only necessary to read the chronicles of De Soto's expedition and the writings of the pioneer travelers and French missionaries of that section. This evidence proves not only that this had been a custom, but that it was continued into the eighteenth century."—Thomas, Problem, 9-10.

For the sake of brevity only a few of the available records are here quoted.

Southern Records.

Thomas (Problem, 10), quoting the Spanish chroniclers, says that such statements as the following, "attested by various contemporaneous authors," leave no room for doubt of the prevalence of the custom of mound-building among the southern Indians in early historic times:

"The caciques of this country make a custom of raising near their dwellings very high hills, on which they sometimes build their houses.—Biedma, Hist. Coll. La., V. 2, 105.

"The Indians try to place their villages on elevated sites, but inasmuch as in Florida there are not many sites of this kind where they can conveniently build, they erect elevations themselves in the following manner, etc.—Garcilasso de la Vega Hist. Fla. ed. 1723, 69.

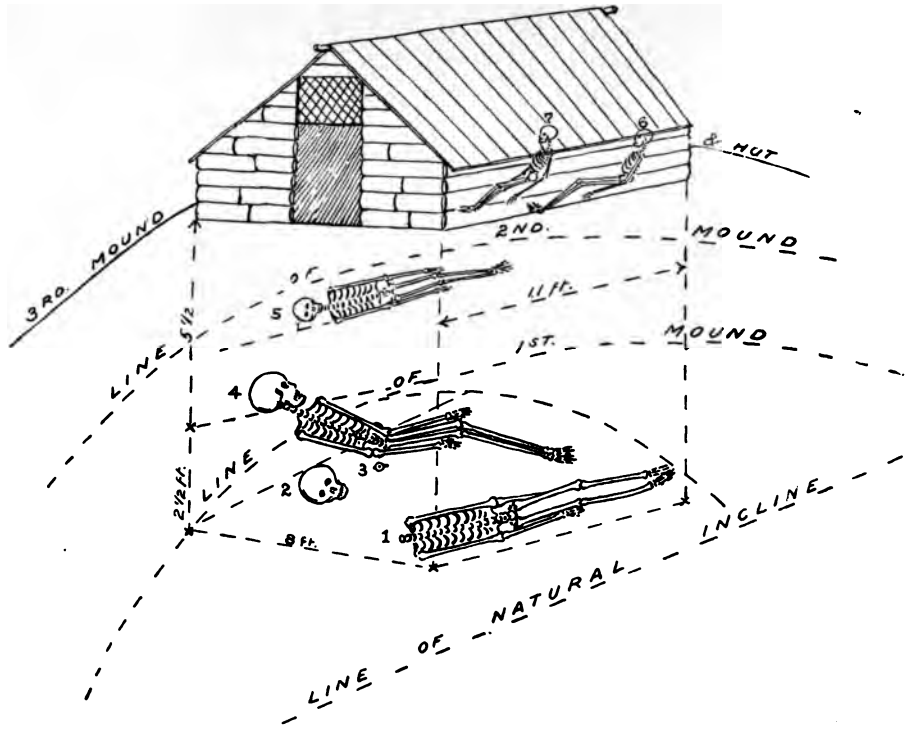


Plate 2. **CROSS SECTION OF GRAVE OF JULIEN DUBUQUE.**
After sketch furnished by Richard Herrmann.

1. Skeleton of Dubuque. 2. Dubuque's skull. 3. Catlinite disk pipe. 4. Skeleton of Chief Peosta. 5. Skeleton of wife of Peosta. 6 & 7. Skeletons covered by hut, (1832–'35.

The Chief's house stood near the beach upon a very high mount made by hand for defence.—Gentleman of Elvas, B. C. series, V. 5, 23."

Cabeza de Vaca, who accompanied Narvaez, in his attempted conquest of Florida in 1528, makes this statement:

"That the natives were accustomed to erect their dwellings on a steep hill, and around its base to dig a trench as a means of defense."—Brinton, Mounds, 129.

La Vega in his history of Florida (it is explained that this name at this time applied to all of the southern region east of the Mississippi river), says:

"The natives constructed artificial mounds of earth, the top of each being capable of containing ten to twenty houses."—Brinton, Mounds, 317.

De Soto, then governor of Florida, is reported as having explored:

"A large temple in the woods, in which were buried the chiefs of the country, and took from it a quantity of pearls * * * which were spoiled by being buried in the ground."—Biedma, Hist. Coll. La., vol. 2, 101.

Old records quoted by Thomas, mention that:

"The town of Talisse is described as being strong in the extreme, inclosed by timber and earth."—Garcilasso, Hist. Fla., 144.

"Herrera speaks of 'a town of 400 houses, and a large square, where the cacique's house stood upon a mound made by art.' —Hist. Am. Steven's transl., v. 6, 5.

"Father Gravier speaks of mounds of the Arkansea and Tounika 'villages.'—Shea's Early French Voyages, 126, 136.

"M. La Harpe says 'the cabins of the Yasous, Courois, Offogoula and Ouspie (along the Yazoo about 1700) are dispersed over the country upon mounds of earth made with their own hands, etc.'—La Harpe, Hist. Coll. La. pt. 3, 106.

"Dument says that, 'in one of the Natches villages the house of the chief was placed on a mound.'—Mem. Hist. La., v. 2, 109.

"When the chief (of the Natchez) dies they demolish his cabin and then raise a new mound on which they build the cabin of him who is to replace him in this dignity."—La Petit, Hist. Coll. La., v. 3, 141, 142, etc.

Carr mentions that De Soto found the natives on both sides of the Mississippi river living in walled towns (Mounds, 526.)

Bartram, in his "Travels" in Florida relates that:

"The Indians collected the bones of the tribes and proceeded in a solemn manner to excavate a hole in the ground, in which they deposited the bones, and after covering them up they elevated a circular mound of earth over the spot."

According to this author in the Cherokee town of Stico the council house was built on a mound, as also at Cowe. He also states that the Choctaws raised mounds over their dead in case of communal burials. (Travels, 345, 367, 516.)

Two hundred years ago, La Salle and his companions visited the Natchez and found their town surrounded by earthworks, and by tall stakes. They kept a perpetual fire burning on a mound, which was 45 feet high (Hoy—mounds, 21.)

Squier refers to a document accompanying the President's message, of 1806, in which mention is made of a mound of considerable size, erected by the Natchez near Nochitoches, when they were expelled, in 1728. (Aborig. Monuments of N. Y., 113.)

Fowke notes that Lawson in his history of Carolina describes burial beneath small mounds of earth and also of stone. (Ohio, 447.)

It is said to be apparent from Jefferson's language (Notes on Virginia, 1801, 142–147) that the burial mounds of Virginia were of Indian origin. (Thomas, Problem, 11.)

In 1732, the Georgia Indians pointed out to Gen. Oglethorp a large mound near Yamacran bluff in which they said a chief who had conversed with Sir Walter Raleigh, had been buried. (Drake, Indians, 369.)

Northern Records.

De Vries, in his Voyages, 1642, states that the Indians about Fort Amsterdam (New York) "form the grave seven or eight feet, in shape of a sugar loaf, and place palisades around it."

Beauchamp informs us that the Iroquois:

"When first known to the whites had almost abandoned the use of earthworks, preferring instead their strong palisades."—Hist. N. Y. Iroquois, 139.

Squier became satisfied that the earthen enclosures of New York were the remains of the stockaded forts of the Iroquois and of no great antiquity. (Aborig. Monuments of N. Y.) Colden notes that "a round hill was sometimes raised over the grave in which a corpse had been deposited." (Hist. Five Nations, v. 1, 16.) Heckwelder observed some of these works

near Detroit, which he was informed had been built by the Indians. (Hist. Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations.)

Gerard Fowke makes the statement that:

"On Rapid river near Traverse City, Michigan, are two mounds, each about six feet high and twenty feet across. An old Chippewa told me that one had been erected over Sioux, the other over Chippewas, slain in a battle there in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

"Several small mounds in upper Michigan cover Sioux, Iroquois and Chippewas; the Indians about there preserve traditions of the fights in which these were slain and in some cases know the name or family of one who is buried in a given tumulus. A few years ago one of the mounds was opened by some wood-cutters and the bones scattered around. The Indians were furious when they knew of it and endeavored to find the perpetrators, swearing to slay them if they could be identified."—Ohio, 450-51.

The latter mounds are said by T. P. Wentworth to be located near the north line of Ogemaw County. (Early Indian History, 150.)

Lewis and Clarke, in their travels west of the Mississippi river, visited a spot where an Omaha chief had been interred. He was buried on a hill, and a mound 12 feet in diameter and 6 feet high, erected over him. (Travels West of the Miss.)

Major Sibley, who derived his information from a chief of the Osages, was informed by him that a certain mound was built, in his boyhood, over the body of a chief called by the French, Jean Defoe, and who died while his warriors were absent on a hunting expedition. Upon their return they heaped a mound over his remains, enlarging it at intervals for a long period of time. (Featherstonehaugh, Trav., 170.)

James, in his Narrative, presents on what he claims good authority, an account of the discovery by a hunting party, in 1816, on the banks of the Le Miners River, in Missouri, of:

"A newly made mound, which, when opened, disclosed the body of a white officer clothed in regimentals, placed in a sitting position on a mat, and surrounded by a rude enclosure of logs twelve feet long, three wide and four high. He had evidently met a violent death and had been scalped."—v. 1, p. 84.

George Catlin informs us that:

"The Mandans were in the habit of erecting mounds of earth about three feet high, near their villages, around which were arranged, in circles, the skulls of the dead, after their bodies had decayed on the scaffolds. On each mound was erected a pole, bound with articles of mysterious and superstitious import."—Catlin, Indians, 190.

According to this author in the Cherokee town of Stico the council house was built on a mound, as also at Cowe. He also states that the Choctaws raised mounds over their dead in case of communal burials. (Travels, 345, 367, 516.)

Two hundred years ago, La Salle and his companions visited the Natchez and found their town surrounded by earthworks, and by tall stakes. They kept a perpetual fire burning on a mound, which was 45 feet high (Hoy—mounds, 21.)

Squier refers to a document accompanying the President's message, of 1806, in which mention is made of a mound of considerable size, erected by the Natchez near Nochitoches, when they were expelled, in 1728. (Aborig. Monuments of N. Y., 113.)

Fowke notes that Lawson in his history of Carolina describes burial beneath small mounds of earth and also of stone. (Ohio, 447.)

It is said to be apparent from Jefferson's language (Notes on Virginia, 1801, 142–147) that the burial mounds of Virginia were of Indian origin. (Thomas, Problem, 11.)

In 1732, the Georgia Indians pointed out to Gen. Oglethorp a large mound near Yamacran bluff in which they said a chief who had conversed with Sir Walter Raleigh, had been buried. (Drake, Indians, 369.)

Northern Records.

De Vries, in his Voyages, 1642, states that the Indians about Fort Amsterdam (New York) "form the grave seven or eight feet, in shape of a sugar loaf, and place palisades around it."

Beauchamp informs us that the Iroquois:

"When first known to the whites had almost abandoned the use of earthworks, preferring instead their strong palisades."—Hist. N. Y. Iroquois, 139.

Squier became satisfied that the earthen enclosures of New York were the remains of the stockaded forts of the Iroquois and of no great antiquity. (Aborig. Monuments of N. Y.) Colden notes that "a round hill was sometimes raised over the grave in which a corpse had been deposited." (Hist. Five Nations, v. 1, 16.) Heckwelder observed some of these works

near Detroit, which he was informed had been built by tne Indians. (Hist. Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations.)

Gerard Fowke makes the statement that:

"On Rapid river near Traverse City, Michigan, are two mounds, each about six feet high and twenty feet across. An old Chippewa told me that one had been erected over Sioux, the other over Chippewas, slain in a battle there in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

"Several small mounds in upper Michigan cover Sioux, Iroquois and Chippewas; the Indians about there preserve traditions of the fights in which these were slain and in some cases know the name or family of one who is buried in a given tumulus. A few years ago one of the mounds was opened by some wood-cutters and the bones scattered around. The Indians were furious when they knew of it and endeavored to find the perpetrators, swearing to slay them if they could be identified."—Ohio, 450-51.

The latter mounds are said by T. P. Wentworth to be located near the north line of Ogemaw County. (Early Indian History, 150.)

Lewis and Clarke, in their travels west of the Mississippi river, visited a spot where an Omaha chief had been interred. He was buried on a hill, and a mound 12 feet in diameter and 6 feet high, erected over him. (Travels West of the Miss.)

Major Sibley, who derived his information from a chief of the Osages, was informed by him that a certain mound was built, in his boyhood, over the body of a chief called by the French, Jean Defoe, and who died while his warriors were absent on a hunting expedition. Upon their return they heaped a mound over his remains, enlarging it at intervals for a long period of time. (Featherstonehaugh, Trav., 170.)

James, in his Narrative, presents on what he claims good authority, an account of the discovery by a hunting party, in 1816, on the banks of the Le Miners River, in Missouri, of:

"A newly made mound, which, when opened, disclosed the body of a white officer clothed in regimentals, placed in a sitting position on a mat, and surrounded by a rude enclosure of logs twelve feet long, three wide and four high. He had evidently met a violent death and had been scalped."—v. 1, p. 84.

George Catlin informs us that:

"The Mandans were in the habit of erecting mounds of earth about three feet high, near their villages, around which were arranged, in circles, the skulls of the dead, after their bodies had decayed on the scaffolds. On each mound was erected a pole, bound with articles of mysterious and superstitious import."—Catlin, Indians, 190.

About the year 1835, he observed a small conical mound ten feet in height, at the celebrated pipestone quarries of Minnesota, which had been erected over the body of a young chief of a Siouan tribe, who had been accidentally killed on the spot. (Catlin, Indians, v. 2, 170.)

Dr. J. W. Powell, late director of the Bureau of American Ethnology, stated that he had himself seen two burial mounds in process of construction. One in Utah, on the banks of the Santa Clara, near the town of St. George, constructed by a tribe of the Shoshonean family; the other built by the Wintun Indians, in the valley of Pitt River, near the fish-hatching station on that stream. (Thomas, 12 B. E., XLVII.)

Not a few of the burial mounds occurring in Northern Wisconsin are strongly suspected of being of Chippewa origin. Some appear, by their contents, to be of quite recent date.

"When a Chippewa died it was customary to place the body in a grave facing W., often in a sitting posture, or to scoop a shallow cavity in the earth and deposit the body therein on its back or side, covering it with earth so as to form a small mound, over which boards, poles or birch bark was placed."—Handbook, 279.

Lieutenant Pike alludes in his Journal (p. 19) to certain defensive earthworks of the Sioux.

"(They) have a mode of defence or secretion by digging holes in the prairie, and throwing a bank around it, into which they put their women and children, and then crawl in themselves."

At La Crosse, on the edge of a prairie, known to have been a favorite resort of the Indians, on the bank of the Mississippi river, Lapham found a number of excavations bordered by embankments which he concluded from their similarity must have served a like purpose. (Antiquities, 7, fig. 35.)

Rev. William Metzdorf, of St. Francis Seminary, Milwaukee, formerly a missionary among them, has described to the author the present day burial custom of the Pottawatomie, formerly Wisconsin and Michigan Indians, on their Kansas reservation:

"When the Pottawatomie bury their dead, they form a small mound over the remains, and when they bury the next near by, they throw additional soil upon the first grave. * * * On the prairie they usually use logs to form an arch over the body. Afterwards the soil is heaped upon it, thus forming a small mound. Even Christian Indians, who have been taught to bury their dead below the surface of the ground, persist in carrying soil to the grave that it may look high."—Jan. 26, 1907.

One of a plot of Pottawatomie graves situated on the east shore of Big Muskego lake, in Waukesha county, early settlers remember to have been covered by a heap of large and small boulders. Soil had already begun to accumulate on the heap when these were removed.

Elsewhere in this publication information is given concerning the earthen embankments surrounding some of the historic Wisconsin Indian villages.

Mr. Richard Herrmann, founder of the Herrmann Museum of Natural History, Dubuque, Iowa, says in a recent communication:

"Burial of the dead in mounds has been practiced by the Muskwakies or the Foxes, who occupied the territory in this immediate neighborhood up to and including some of the time when the white people first settled in this section of the country."

A relative of mine, Mrs. Lawrence, when about 80 years of age, told me that after a battle near Prairie Du Chien, in which the Sacs and Foxes were defeated, she saw a wounded warrior brought to the present site of the City of Dubuque, at Eagle Point, where he died, and was practically buried in a mound. He was placed on the level ground, in a sitting posture, earth and gravel was carried by the squaws, or nearest of kin, and filled around the deceased, forming a regular mound as high as his shoulders, when they had to flee. The whites completed the burial.

Chief Black Hawk was buried in a similar manner, as reported in the following letter by Capt. James H. Jordan, who was present at his burial:

"Eldon, Iowa, June 15th, 1881.

Black Hawk was buried on the N. E. ¼ of S. E. ¼, Section 2, Town 70, Range 12, Davis County, Iowa, on the Des Moines River bottom. Some split puncheons were set over his grave and then sodded over with the blue grass, making a ridge about four feet high."

Mr. Isaac Nelson writes:

"He was buried in a manner on top of the ground, but his feet were about 16 inches in the ground, and his head about a foot above the surface. * * * With him were buried many of his personal effects, * * * and the grave was enclosed with pickets about 8 feet high, planted in the ground with joints broken."

Mr. Herrmann has also kindly furnished the following interesting description of a historic Indian burial mound at Dubuque, Iowa. (See Plate 2.)

"Julien Dubuque died and was buried about March 24th, 1810, in a low mound erected over his remains by the Indians. About 1816 or 1818, Chief Peosta, of the Fox Indians, died and was placed on this mound in a sitting position and the mound enlarged to cover him. In a recent excavation of the mound, Chief Peosta's remains were found about two and a half feet above and as far to the south of Dubuque's.

The latter's skull had been detached and was found close to Peosta's. Near the two skulls were discovered a catlinite disk pipe. Some years later the squaw of Peosta was buried in the same mound, above that of her husband and covered with soil until the mound was extended upward some eight feet above Dubuque's remains. About 1829 or 1830, a log shelter was placed on this mound and the remains of two Indians, prepared for burial according to Indian custom, were deposited in this hut, in a sitting posture, with no coffin. Old settlers of Dubuque still remember the skeletons in the hut."—March 5th 1907, condensed

The stratification of two mounds observed by the author at Racine, each containing human remains at different depths, indicate their having been added to, at each successive burial. One mound explored contained one and the other three intrusive burials, and in the last mentioned, the skeleton second from the top was accompanied by a large number of glass beads and a brass thimble.

Captain Marryat, an English army officer who visited Wisconsin, in 1837, informs us that it was at that time still the custom of the northern portion of the Sioux tribes, "to build tenements, sometimes fortified and sometimes not, of mud or earth." (Wis. Hist. Coll., 14, 150.)

Rev. T. S. Williamson is authority for the statement that mounds in the valley of the Minnesota are still used by the Dakotas as burying places for their dead, and in this way the mounds receive a small increase every year. (Minn. Hist. Colls., 1, 296, 1872.)

In an article entitled "Mounds built by the Sioux of Minnesota," Dr. Warren H. Upham, secretary of the Minnesota Historical Society, says:

"In numerous instances, and at widely separated localities, mounds in this state (Minnesota) have been found to contain articles made by white men, as noted in the reports of the Geological Survey of Minnesota, by Prof. N. H. Winchell and the present writer. One of these mounds, on the site of the City of Red Wing, was thought by Col. William Colvill to have been probably the burial place of the Sioux chief, from whom the city received its name. When this mound was leveled, in grading a street, decaying bones were found in it, and also a Jefferson medal of the year 1801, which Col. Colvill supposed to have been presented to Red Wing, the old chief, by Lieut. Z. M. Pike, on his return in 1806 from exploration of the upper Mississippi."—Upham, Am. Antiq., v. 28, 217-223.

As a result of his researches Hon. J. V. Brower, the author of various valuable archaeological works, did not hesitate to ascribe to the Dakota the numerous burial, linear and imita-

tive mounds and enclosures about Mille Lac, Fort Poualak, Bromley lake, Fort Pillager and other localities in Minnesota. His familiarty with the Indian history of the region and interviews with the descendants of some of the participants, convinced him of the fact that some of these works dated no further back than the historic struggle between the Dakota and Chippewa. (See Kathio)

The failure of the Jesuit missionaries and other early visitors in Wisconsin to record the presence of any of the very great number of peculiar and interesting effigy and burial mounds, which are scattered in extensive groups and singly along the shores of every important lake and stream, is a matter of surprise to present day historians and students. They visited and sojourned, sometimes for considerable lengths of time at various Indian villages in the vicinity or very midst of which were extensive groups of mounds, the prominence and artificial nature of which could scarcely fail to attract their attention, even though the natives themselves failed to make known their presence. The early Indian villages at the Red Banks on Green Bay, and at Doty Island, which were repeatedly visited, were surrounded by large groups of mounds. Between the years 1654 and 1680, Radisson and Gresseilliers, Joliet and Marquette, and Du Luth and Hennepin, all passed over the Fox-Wisconsin river route without however giving evidence in their journals of having noticed any of the countless groups of earthworks of all classes along this ancient waterway. It is possible that some of these may have been in that day obscured by brush or trees, but the evidence is that many others were much more prominent than they are today. Cyrus Thomas has shown that while one of the missionaries must have passed a good portion of the winter of 1700 in the very midst of the Cahokia group in Illinois, he failed to record the presence of that most imposing of American earthworks, the Great Cahokia mound, or of the large number of prominent and other mounds that cluster about it. (Problem, 11.) Radisson, in the winter of 1658–59, visited the great Siouan seat of Kathio, at Mille Lac, Minnesota, which he wrote contained 7,000 men, Hennepin came in 1680, and Du Luth in 1679 planted there the arms of France, yet

none of them chose to record the presence of any earthworks in its vicinity. The loss of such information as these men might have gleaned concerning these mounds is regrettable. The testimony of the contents of various burial mounds, which have been carefully investigated, is that the custom of erecting sepulchral mounds had even then not quite ceased. Intrusive burials in mounds were very probably also being made. While failing to notice, or to record information, which it would appear that they must have possessed, their writings have however preserved to us a vast amount of valuable data concerning the location, relationship, religion and customs of the early historic Indians of the Northwest, which assist us in the solution of the problems at hand.

II.

Grade of Culture of the Mound Builders, Similarity of Burial Customs of the Mound Builders and Indians, Aboriginal Agriculture, Division of Labor.

Grade of Culture of the Mound Builders.

Many early and some present day writers, with but limited information at hand, are extravagant in their estimates of the grade of culture to be accredited the "Mound Builders." Their speculative conclusions, in most instances, are proven to be but poor guesses.

They revel in a confusion of extravagant terms and would have us believe that our Wisconsin earthworks are the remains of a "dense population," of a "vanished race" of "mysterious Mound Builders" in an "advanced state of civilization," probably "related to the Aztecs," "fierce warriors" of "giant stature," and whose religious practices included "periodical pilgrimages" to "places of religious assemblage," where occurred "midnight ceremonies," "processions of priests," "idols," "temple mounds" and "altars," which "smoked with sacrificial fires." Their "great architectural and engineering skill" enabled them to construct "citadels," "sacred inclosures," "mili-

Plate 3. Courtesy of Dr. W. L. Rankin.

INDIAN CORNFIELD.

Carroll College Grounds, Waukesha.

tary works," "signal stations," "lookout mounds" or "observatories," also "terraced banks," "graded ways," "brick walls," "stone arches," "sewers," "elephant mounds," "crosses and dragons," and similarly described works. Their cultivation of the soil consisted in the preparation of acres of "extensive garden beds," and their methods of hunting required the erection of "game drives and hunting screens" and "game traps." They possessed "inscribed tablets." They understood the "lost art" of "tempering copper" and of chipping flint. They invariably buried their dead "facing the east." Their village and workshop sites are spoken of as "great battle fields" and rows of mounds become "amuscades."

Many books, magazines and papers are littered with such nonsense and misinformation concerning a people, an exhaustive study of whose remains has convinced archaeologists that they were ordinary Indians, and yet a long way removed from civilization.

"They had no alphabet. They knew nothing of the economic use of iron or any other metal. Copper, galena, hematite, they had in plenty, all were treated as so many stones, to be rubbed, chipped or beaten into desired forms. They had no domestic animals or beasts of burden. There is no evidence that they could build with flat stones an unsupported wall that would stand upright. They could not dig a well, etc.

"They did however manufacture serviceable pottery, though they knew nothing of the potter's wheel. Their place is in the 'lower status of barbarism,' below the Pueblo Indian, and far below the Peruvian."—Fowke, Ohio, 75-76, condensed.

Nothing appears in the plan or construction of their works that was beyond the accomplishment of the historic Indian tribes. Their arts and customs and social condition were similar. The weapons, implements and utensils obtained from their tumuli and village sites are identical in form and material with those found in actual use among the Indians by the white man.

In other chapters of this work further information on this subject is given.

Similarity of Burial Customs.

The mortuary customs of the builders of the Wisconsin mounds, as evidenced by the depositories of their dead, present so many striking similarities to those of the early historic

Indians as to leave but little room for doubt that their authors were of the same race.

The several modes of mound burial, which have been observed repeatedly by various intelligent investigators from Lapham's day to the present time, may be summarized as follows:

1a. The burial of one or of a number of skeletons or bodies in a folded position (the sitting or kneeling posture of some authors) on, or in an excavation beneath the natural surface of, the ground. The interments occasionally surrounded by a wall or vault of stone slabs or boulders, or the pit covered (or walled in) with bark or logs. A mound of one or several layers of earth was erected over the whole.

b. The burial of one or more skeletons or bodies at full length (face up), or lying on the side, on or above the natural surface of the ground, or in a pit or pits beneath. The skeletons on the same level or scattered through the mound at different levels, regularly or irregularly disposed. Also sometimes inclosed by a stone vault, or surrounded by stones.

2a. The burial of the bundled bones of a number of skeletons either on, or in an excavation beneath the natural surface of the ground. Each skull resting upon or near the collection of bones of the skeleton to which it belonged.

b. The burial on, or in an excavation beneath the surface of the ground, of the disconnected bones of a number or many skeletons, or of closely packed skeletons. The confused mass of bones covered with a hardened layer of clay upon which a fire was sometimes built. The mound was completed by the addition of one or several layers of soil.

Thomas, who in his "Burial Mounds of the Northern Section of the United States" (5 B. E.) has devoted a chapter to a consideration of the character of the burial mounds of Wisconsin says:

"Of the methods of construction and modes of burial there appear to be some two or three types, though not so different as to necessarily indicate different tribes or peoples.—p. 14.

Horizontal and folded burials may occur in the same mound. The skeletons may lie in one or various directions. Some of the skeletons in a mound may be inclosed by a stone wall or vault while others are not. Burials of any of the above types may occur in stratified or unstratified mounds. A majority

of Wisconsin mounds are unstratified. Burials occur either beneath the apex or the rim, or at any level in a mound. Indications of the use of fire in connection with the burial ceremonies may accompany any mode of interment. This accounts for the mistaken notion that charred or partly consumed bones are evidences of human sacrifice or of cremation.

The burial of the dead in a folded (or sitting position) is known to have been a common practice of the Winnebago, as well as of other Indian tribes, who also followed other methods of interment. That it was also in vogue elsewhere is attested to by various authorities. The confused masses and bundled human bones noted in so many local mounds, plainly indicate communal burial, the bones of all persons dying in a village within a certain period of time being collected from scaffolds or other temporary depositories and interred together. This custom was common to the Indian tribes of various parts of the United States and Canada. The use of fire in their connection with burial ceremonies was a common Indian custom. The intrusive burials of modern Indians in the mounds the investigations of the Bureau have shown to be often of exactly the same type as the original burials for which the tumuli were constructed.

Depositing with the dead his pipe, weapons, ornaments or other effects was a custom common alike to the builders of the mounds and the modern Indians. The objects taken from the mounds do not differ in form or material from those known to have been in use among the Indians, and now to be found on their village sites and in their graves.

The supposition has long prevailed that the only method employed by the ancient Indians in disposing of their dead was by erecting mounds over them. If this were true the number of the remains in most mound groups would not account for the population that must have resided in their vicinity and been concerned in their construction. The presence of cemeteries in the vicinity of the mounds plainly indicates that many, perhaps the majority, of the ancient Indians were interred in ordinary graves.

Aboriginal Agriculture.

The great number of their works plainly indicates that the builders of the mounds were to some extent a sedentary people, having fixed villages. The occasional presence of corn in the mounds would signify that they depended to some extent upon the products of the soil for subsistence. There has long existed a popular belief, which is by no means dissipated, that the Indians were simply hunters and warriors, too lazy to work and too restless to remain for any length of time in one locality. Such well known but now antiquated publications as Squiers' and Davis' Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley, Foster's Prehistoric Races of the United States, Baldwin's Ancient America, and Calden's History of the Five Nations, have done much toward giving this misimpression a firm foothold. History and scientific research have shown the fallacy of such conclusions.

In presenting proof that the requirements which are supposed to have been possessed by the builders of the mounds, were not lacking in the Indian, we are confronted with the claim that the latter was not an agriculturalist. Testimony of a quantity and quality can be produced sufficient to convince the most skeptical that the cultivation of the soil was a common practice of all the Indian tribes living within the mound districts of America. Of the character and quantity of their agricultural products there is an abundance of information.

Force, an early and reliable authority, contends that all of the tribes east of the Mississippi were more or less agricultural, and raised corn, beans, and melons.

Schoolcraft found that the whole of the Indian tribes situated in the Mississippi valley, in Ohio and the Lakes region and reaching on both sides of the Alleghanies quite to Massachusetts and other parts of New England, cultivated Indian corn, and that it was a stable product.

Albert Gallatin makes the statement in Archaeologia Americana that:

"The territory over which cultivation had extended, is that which is bounded on the east by the Atlantic, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, on the west generally by the Mississippi and on the north, 'it may be said by the nature of the climate.' "

Brinton fixes the Indian corn belt as extending from Chili to the fiftieth parallel of north latitude. De Soto found all of the tribes he visited, from Florida to Western Arkansas, cultivating corn and vegetables. The reports of early voyagers indicate the prevalence of the same custom among the Indians, along the Atlantic from Maine to Florida.

It has been shown that the early colonists of America depended, to a considerable extent, upon the aborigines for agricultural products, and from them learned the secret of their cultivation, which in some localities was carried on with almost as much care as is at this day exercised by some white farmers. According to Wood they:

"Cull out the finest seeds, to observe fittest season, to keep distance for holes and fit measure for hills, to worm it and weed it; to prune it, and dress it, as occasion shall require."—Brinton, 74.

In the Vimont Relation twenty-nine tribes living south of the Great Lakes are described as sedentary and cultivators of the soil.

Cartier, probably the first European explorer to pass up the St. Lawrence, found the Hurons the possessors of large fields of corn. Much of the grain was stored in the garrets at the tops of their houses. Champlain, in 1610, speaking of the same tribes, especially north of the St. Lawrence and in the vicinity of lakes Erie, Ontario and Huron, adds that:

"Most of these Indians cultivated corn, which was their principal food, and which they also exchanged for skins with the hunting tribes living north of them."—Voyages, p. 301.

He found them in possession of a supply sufficient to last them three or four years in case of a failure of the crops. Henry Hudson in 1609, found the New York Indians in practically the same circumstances, and estimates the quantity of Indian corn and beans of the previous years growth, in and about one house as sufficient "to load three ships", besides what was growing in the fields." General Sullivan's army which invaded the country of the Iroquois, in 1779, is credited with destruction of 160,000 bushels of corn, and of an orchard of 1500 apple trees. This amount is small when compared with the 1,200,000 bushels of corn, reported as destroyed by Marquis De Nouville, in his celebrated expedition against the Seneca Indians, in Ontario county, New York. While it is

reasonable to suppose that this amount was greatly over estimated, other historical reports place it at nearly as much.

According to Trumbull, the New England Indians:

"By selling them corn, when pinched with famine they (the Indians) relieved their distress and prevented them (the Pilgrims) from perishing in a strange land and uncultivated wilderness."—Trumbull, Connecticut, v. 1, 47.

That the Indian tribes of the Ohio valley depended to a considerable extent on agriculture for subsistence is certain. During the expedition of General Wayne into northwestern Ohio, in 1783, very extensive cultivated fields and gardens were destroyed. In his report he said:

"Nor have I ever beheld such immense fields of corn. All were laid waste for twenty miles each side of the river (the Miami)."—Indian Wards, 84.

Lucien Carr, in a paper entitled, "The Mounds of the Mississippi Valley, Historically Considered," presents a strong array of historical evidence showing that the natives from the Great Lakes to the Gulf and from the Atlantic to the Mississippi, when first visited by white men, practiced agriculture and resided in permanent villages.

From historical records we learn that the early Indian inhabitants of Wisconsin and Minnesota dwelt within and claimed ownership to certain well defined tracts of land, the boundaries of which were recognized or disputed, and which were relinquished only by treaty or as the unsuccessful result of war. These tribes had permanent villages some of which were inclosed by stockades. During the hunting season, these village Indians separated into small bands and dispersed over their territory to procure supplies of meat, skins and fish, after which they would again return to their homes to remain until harvest time was passed, unless called away to battle with their enemies.

"These tribes lived in villages, some of which were very large, and they also had forts and strong-holds for defense in case of necessity."—Relations en l'aunee, 1670.

Rev. Joseph A. Gilfillan, says of the Ojibwa in Minnesota:

"The Red Lake Indians are the most industrious of all the Indians; they are apt to be always doing something to make a living. They will starve with the seed corn by them, rather than eat it. They raised

quantities of corn in their little fields by the shore of the lake, for a hundred years past, planting the same ground over and over again."—Minn. Hist. Coll. 10, 77.

The same chapter contains a statement that at "Little Village", Minnesota, the Sioux had cornfields in 1862, of nearly 1,000 acres.

Allouez's report of 1670–72 mentions a number of permanent Indian villages in Wisconsin, among them the noted Mascoutin village, on the upper Fox river, where he found a town containing nearly 200 cabins.

Wisconsin, although a fine game country, was extensively cultivated by its early historic Indian inhabitants. Father Marquette found the various Wisconsin tribes raising great quantities of corn.

Allouez discovered that the Wisconsin savages "lived on Indian corn and other fruits of the earth, which they cultivate on the prairies." He found the natives on the shores of Green Bay "cultivating corn, gourds and tobacco." In his account of the Pottawatomie living along the west shore of Lake Michigan, he says:

"These people are war-like and they engage in hunting and fishing. Their country is excellently adapted for raising Indian corn, and they have fields covered with it."—Relation, 1670.

Father Membre in the same Relation refers to the richness of the country about Green Bay, "which gave them (the Indians) fields everywhere." "All nations," he said, "have their fields of Indian corn, squashes, beans and tobacco."

The Huron and Ottawa, numbering about 1,500 souls, were driven by the Sioux to Chequamegon Bay, Wisconsin, where they applied themselves to raising Indian corn and squashes. (Relation, 1658–61), Perrot's report, Relation, 1690, frequently refers to the growing of corn in considerable quantities by Wisconsin Indians. The Sac and Fox, then located in the central part of the state, are spoken of as having four women to one man and are reported in the Relation of 1718 as being as "industrious as can be, and raise extraordinary crops of Indian corn." The same narrative informs us that the Indian families of Beaver Island, Wisconsin have their cabins and fields of corn.

De Lignery's report of his expedition against the Fox in Wisconsin, in 1728, states that they burned several villages of the "Sacs, Foxes and Winnebagoes," on the Fox and Wisconsin rivers and:

"Caused all the corn to be cut of which there was so great a quantity that one could not believe it without seeing."—Relation, 1728.

Jonathan Carver reports that the land about Lake Winnebago, at the time of his visit, was exceedingly productive:

"It is very fertile, abounding with grapes, plums and other fruits, which grow spontaneously. The Winnebagoes raise on it, a great quantity of Indian corn, beans, pumpkins, squashes and watermelons, with some tobacco."—Travels, 30.

In 1766, he visited the village of the Sac near what is now Prairie du Sac, in Sauk County, Wisconsin, and of the permanent character of which he says:

"This is the largest and best built Indian village I ever saw. It contains about 90 houses, and each large enough for several families. They are built of hewn plank etc. * * * The streets are regular and spacious; so it appears more like a civilized town than the abode of savages. The land near the town is very good. In their plantations, which lies adjacent to their houses, and which are neatly laid out, they raise great quantities of Indian corn, melons, etc."—Carver, Travels, 24.

In the "Wisconsin State Agricultural Transactions," (v. 1, p. 125) occurs the following statement:

"There was a large settlement of Sauk at the lower end of Sauk prairie. I have often examined the remains of their tillage there, and should suppose they raised corn in one lot of at least four hundred acres. * * * The four hundred acres are covered with well formed regular corn hills."

The Winnebago, Menomonee and Pottawatomie of Wisconsin raised more corn than they required for their own use, as is evidenced by Clark's statement:

"General Atkinson purchased (he thinks) it was not less than 6000 bushels of corn of the Winnebagoes. In 1848, when my brother and I travelled extensively through Wisconsin, we drove in several instances over old Indian corn fields, one of which, in Columbia county, extended over half a mile. An old pioneer living near by told us the Winnebagoes had cultivated this large corn field."—Hoy, Mounds, 17.

A Record of Wisconsin Antiquities, published in 1906, by the Wisconsin Archaeological Society, lists 55 different localities where evidences of the cultivation of the soil by local

near Detroit, which he was informed had been built by the Indians. (Hist. Manners and Customs of the Indian Nations.)

Gerard Fowke makes the statement that:

"On Rapid river near Traverse City, Michigan, are two mounds, each about six feet high and twenty feet across. An old Chippewa told me that one had been erected over Sioux, the other over Chippewas, slain in a battle there in the latter part of the eighteenth century.

"Several small mounds in upper Michigan cover Sioux, Iroquois and Chippewas; the Indians about there preserve traditions of the fights in which these were slain and in some cases know the name or family of one who is buried in a given tumulus. A few years ago one of the mounds was opened by some wood-cutters and the bones scattered around. The Indians were furious when they knew of it and endeavored to find the perpetrators, swearing to slay them if they could be identified."—Ohio, 450-51.

The latter mounds are said by T. P. Wentworth to be located near the north line of Ogemaw County. (Early Indian History, 150.)

Lewis and Clarke, in their travels west of the Mississippi river, visited a spot where an Omaha chief had been interred. He was buried on a hill, and a mound 12 feet in diameter and 6 feet high, erected over him. (Travels West of the Miss.)

Major Sibley, who derived his information from a chief of the Osages, was informed by him that a certain mound was built, in his boyhood, over the body of a chief called by the French, Jean Defoe, and who died while his warriors were absent on a hunting expedition. Upon their return they heaped a mound over his remains, enlarging it at intervals for a long period of time. (Featherstonehaugh, Trav., 170.)

James, in his Narrative, presents on what he claims good authority, an account of the discovery by a hunting party, in 1816, on the banks of the Le Miners River, in Missouri, of:

"A newly made mound, which, when opened, disclosed the body of a white officer clothed in regimentals, placed in a sitting position on a mat, and surrounded by a rude enclosure of logs twelve feet long, three wide and four high. He had evidently met a violent death and had been scalped."—v. 1, p. 84.

George Catlin informs us that:

"The Mandans were in the habit of erecting mounds of earth about three feet high, near their villages, around which were arranged, in circles, the skulls of the dead, after their bodies had decayed on the scaffolds. On each mound was erected a pole, bound with articles of mysterious and superstitious import."—Catlin, Indians, 190.

Indians have been discovered. As its survey progresses many similar indications will doubtless be found in other localities. (See Plate 3.)

The great mass of evidence available would seem to establish, beyond a doubt, the fact that the early historic Indians of Wisconsin depended for subsistence, to a large extent, upon the products of the soil and were sufficiently sedentary in their habits to meet all the theoretical requirements of a mound-building people.

Division of Labor.

From a somewhat general belief that nothing would tempt the Indian warrior to toil, and forgetting that in a fair division of labor the cultivation of the soil and even the building of earth-works might have justly fallen to the lot of the women, old men, boys and slaves, it has been maintained that the Indians could not have built the mounds or cultivated the soil to any great extent. A careful study of the subject will, however, convince the unprejudiced that labor conditions among the savages have not been commonly understood, and that a fair and reasonable division of labor existed among them in early historic times, probably differing but little from that which prevailed during the mound building epoch.

In regions where hunting was unprofitable and in times of peace, the able bodied men did not hesitate to labor in the fields. According to Bernard the Choctaws, a nation of farmers, assisted their wives in the labors of the field and in many other kinds of work. Adair says the Muscogees rarely went to war until they had helped the women plant the corn. Father Gravier, in Shea's voyages, claims that the tribes at the mouth of the Arkansas were growers of corn and that their men cleared the ground and aided in the work of the field. Du Pratz is authority for the statement that among the Natchez, and kindred tribes, the men not only cleared the fields but worked the crops. He says that among the Tonicas, on the west side of the Mississippi, "The men do what the peasants do in France; they cultivate and dig the

earth, plant and harvest the crops, cut the wood and bring it to the cabin." Charlevoix states that among the tribes north of the Ohio and south of the St. Lawrence, Huron as well as Algonquian, the men not only habitually cleared the ground of heavy timber but helped to work the crops and aided in harvesting them.

The duties of the Indian women were many and laborious, yet they were aided in their toil not only by the warriors, but by the old men, children and slaves. The question of food was an important one and all must work. That captives were secured for the express purpose of assisting the women in their tasks is substantiated by an abundance of evidence.

In speaking of the Six Nations, La Hontan says of the Indian warrior:

"If any of his children be killed or taken by the enemy, he is furnished with as many slaves as he hath occasion for."—La Hontan, Voyages, 7.

De Soto found some southern tribes with many Indian slaves, whom they put to tilling the ground and other sorts of labor, and whose heels or leg sinews they cut to prevent their escaping.

According to Carver, the Sauk warriors of Wisconsin employed every summer in making incursions into the territories of the Illinois and Pawnee, returning with a great number of slaves. These tribes frequently retaliated.

Labor is too frequently considered in a narrow sense, as meaning simply work necessary to the raising of corn and the building of earthworks, when in its broadest sense it certainly should include hunting, fishing and the protection of the village. Any occupation, which when followed, as a means of subsistence, and not as a pastime, involves toil. The fatigues of hunting, especially with primitive weapons, must certainly have been great. The tracking of a deer for many miles and transporting of the carcass of the slain animal involved labor of the hardest kind. Geo. E. Laidlaw, of Ontario, in a recent letter to the author says:

"The Indian is not lazy when he wants to do anything himself, and only lazy according to white-man's ideas."

When white men first visited America, they found that among some of the more warlike Indian tribes the women outnumbered the men. The savages of both sexes were found to be athletic, well developed and filled with courage and endurance. This stage of development could have hardly existed unless their muscles and those of their ancestors had been trained by toil of some kind. The women, old men, young men and slaves among the tribes might well be expected to care for the work necessary about their habitations, and fields, as well as to build mounds, without the assistance of the comparatively small number of able bodied men, who had other important duties to perform. In addition to their duties as hunters, councillors, and warriors upon these devolved the tasks of building canoes, of quarrying the stone and procuring other materials from which to make their implements and weapons, and similar work. All things considered, the division of labor among these people appears to have been not unreasonable or unjust.

III.

Character of Works, Conical Mounds, Linear or Wall-Shaped Mounds, Effigy Mounds, Boulder Effigies, Relative Age of Works.

Character of Works.

The three principal classes into which Wisconsin mounds have been divided by archaeologists are conical or round mounds, linear or wall-shaped mounds, and effigy or emblematic mounds. Of less frequent occurrence are truncated or tabular mounds, connected or chain mounds, and enclosures. Oval mounds also occur and appear to form a connecting link between the conical and the linear mounds. Village sites, plots of corn hills, garden beds, refuse heaps or pits, provision caches and other evidences of early aboriginal occupation are generally associated with groups of mounds.

Conical Mounds.

These constitute the most numerous class of Wisconsin mounds. Thousands of them have been located. They are constructed of earth and are rounded or conical in shape, and range from 10 to 70 or more feet in diameter at their bases, and from one to as much as 12 feet in height. A very few have been found to be constructed of a mixture of stone and earth, and are called cairns. Investigation has shown that the conical mounds were erected mainly for purposes of burial. They are found throughout the state and occur both singly and in lines or clusters of a few or many, and are in the southern half of Wisconsin frequently associated in groups with effigy or linear mounds.

In northern Wisconsin they constitute almost the only class of earthen monuments, being scattered through that region either singly or in small groups. The contents of some of these northern mounds indicate that they are of quite recent construction. Among the materials accompanying interments in some of these, articles of European manufacture have been found. Elsewhere in this publication other information concerning this class of mounds is given. A conical mound is figured in Plate 1.

The oval mounds differ from the conical mounds only in form. They also were sometimes employed as places of interment. Tabular mounds are square or rectangular at their bases, the top being flattened. They are of rare occurrence in Wisconsin.

Chain Mounds.

These consist of lines of conical mounds connected by low embankments of earth. Such structures are not of very frequent occurrence in Wisconsin. Several are figured in groups described by Lapham, and by Thomas. Mounds of this form occur in the Siouan country to the west and especially in North Dakota.

Thomas has noted that:

"The surrounding walls of the noted group in Wisconsin, known as 'Aztalan' and an extensive group in Vanderburg county, Indiana, appear to be but slight modifications of the chain-mound type. As the elongate

(linear) mounds are found in the same section, it is possible that the three types—lines of conical tumuli, chain mounds,....., and the wall mounds—are steps in an evolutionary process, probably from the solid to the separated.

"So far as mounds of these series have been examined, no evidence has been found to justify the belief that they were intended as burial places. On the contrary they are usually low and flattened, and frequently contain indications of fire, they are believed to be house or wigwam sites. One of the groups containing mound series of these types is in the precise locality Winnebago Indians are known to have occupied."—Thomas, Introduction, 35.

An examination of Lapham's survey of the ancient enclosure at Aztalan shows plainly the resemblance of not only the main wall but also of the other earthworks formerly existing within and without the inclosure, to these connected lines of mounds. The chain mounds of Dakota are high, the embankments low, and are usually sepulchral. Occasionally two conical mounds are connected by embankments of great length.

Rows or lines of connected conical mounds are, with but few exceptions, peculiar to Wisconsin and the northwest. They are confined in Wisconsin to the effigy mound region and occur in some of the same groups which contain also effigy mounds or lines of linear mounds, or both. This plainly indicates that all must be attributed to the same authors.

Linear or Wall-Shaped Mounds.

These wall-shaped earthworks are found associated in groups with effigy and conical mounds, sometimes with the latter alone. They are of very common occurrence in Wisconsin, and are found also in northern Illinois, in Minnesota and farther west. (See Plates 5, 6 and 9.)

They vary in length from 50 to 1,000 feet, and in height from one to as much as 5 feet. They are usually straight, of equal width and height throughout. A few angle at or near their middles. A small number have at one extremity a circular enlargement, the opposite end angling to, or terminating in a point. Some have a circular enlargement at their middles.

In A. B. Stout's recent survey of the Searls' and Krugel's Creek groups, in Merrimack township, Sauk county, several

types of this class of works are shown. (See W. A., v. 5, pl. VI.) The close relationship of these variations to certain of the effigy mounds is plain.

The purpose of these wall-shaped mounds still remains without a satisfactory solution. Brower concluded that some of the Minnesota examples were the remains of former defensive works of the early Siouan villages. The location and arrangement of many of the Wisconsin examples is such that even if surmounted by a palisade they would afford but little protection to their builders. The finding near the surface of a few, of the remains of fireplaces, has caused some authors to express a belief that they were employed as house sites. Investigation has shown that they were not intended for burial purposes, as human remains are but rarely found in them. Dr. Peet has concluded that some of the groups, of which they form a part, were employed as game drives. This theory has been rejected by Wisconsin students. No such devices were employed, or necessary for the capture of game.

Solitary examples of linear mounds also occur. One of these was recently located by Mr. Chas. E. Brown, on the top and near the extremity of a high ridge above the Wisconsin river road, near Gotham, Richland county, and another in a tract of rather low woodland at the southeast side of Silver lake, in Waukesha county. In Plate 6 is shown a group of linear and conical mounds recently located by him in Clyde township, Iowa county. It is on the narrow crest of a high bluff paralleling the Wisconsin river.

That the mounds of this class were erected by the same Indian tribe that constructed the imitative works is plain. Canfield's plat of the Kingston group, reproduced in Plate 9, conveys a good illustration of the close relationship of these several classes of earthworks.

Effigy Mounds.

Effigy or imitative mounds are confined in Wisconsin to the southern half of the state, their now most northern known limit being Shawano county. They are designed to represent various animals, the human form and inanimate objects. These singular earthworks are:

"Limited geographically, almost exclusively, to Wisconsin and the immediately adjoining portions of Illinois and Iowa; some two or three are found in Ohio and two in Georgia; it is reported that some examples have been discovered in the 'Bad Lands' of Dakota; this however, has not been confirmed."—Thomas, Introduction, 35.

A small number have likewise been found in Minnesota; and one is reported from Canada.

The most extensive Wisconsin groups occur along the Wisconsin, Fox and Rock rivers and their principal tributaries; along the east bank of the Mississippi, and on the shores of some of the larger inland lakes. While the preference of their builders appears to have been for the highlands, gentle slopes, the narrow crests of ridges, and even lands subject to occasional overflow were frequently selected for the locations of these earthworks.

Effigy mounds occur in groups, in association with conical and linear mounds and other earthworks. Often these groups are most extensive. Solitary effigies also occur, and there are instances where a single effigy, only, accompanies a group of burial mounds. Several types of effigies are very frequently found in the same group. (See Plates 4, 5 and 9.)

While the various animal forms represented cannot always be determined with certainty, there are many instances where the intent of the builders to portray a certain animal cannot be mistaken. Among other animals which may be recognized are the bear, deer, panther, and smaller quadrupeds, the snake, turtle and various birds. The man mound near Baraboo is a fine example of an earth work erected to represent the human form. That any were intended to imitate the elephant is most improbable. The somewhat celebrated Grant county "elephant" mound a careful survey showed, to have been "in all probability intended for a bear, as the proboscis appears to have been (caused by) an accidental addition of shifting sand." The mounds often spoken of as "crosses" are in reality rude representations of birds.

Effigy mounds range in length from less than 50 to 550 feet or more, and from a foot to 5 or more feet in height. The wings of the bird effigies, from tip to tip, vary in measurement from about 50 to 275 or more feet. The effigies in a group may head in one or in various directions. They may

point either up or down stream, as well as both toward and away from the water. No general rule of direction can be laid down.

Intaglio effigies are the reverse of the regular effigy mounds, being excavated out of the soil instead of built upon it. A few of these were noted by Lapham in connection with groups of mounds surveyed by him.

The investigation by archaeologists and by others of a large number of effigy mounds shows that they were not, as a class, intended for use as places of interment. In a few, however, human remains have been found, some of which, judging from the reports of the explorers, were probably original interments. Others may or may not have been of an intrusive nature, as the evidence is not conclusive.

Thomas reports the discovery by Mr. D. W. Derby of human bones and an earthen vessel, in the body of a large effigy mound, located near the village of Wyalusing, Grant county. (12 B. E., 88.) He also describes the exploration, in 1886, by Rev. S. D. Peet of an effigy mound, "probably representing a turtle," located in a group of mounds, near the waterworks at Beloit.

"Other parties had taken off the top before his examination. A broad trench running through the middle, lengthwise, was carried down to the original surface of the ground. Here he found 8 skeletons, bundled, lying on the original surface of the mound. The dirt over them showed evidences of fire, but was not baked.

First the mound consisted of black loam; second, the earth was packed tightly around the bones; third no gravel was found above the skeletons, but the original gravel of the bluff was immediately below them, indicating that the top soil had been removed before burial; fourth the bodies were laid on the surface and the material of the mound, scraped from the surrounding area thrown over them; fifth, the bodies or skeletons were evidently not interred in an extended position, for the bones of each individual were folded or heaped together, pieces of the skull in some instances resting upon them; they were probably 'bundled' skeletons, buried after the flesh had been removed; sixth, there were no implements or ornaments of any kind with them; seventh, some of the bones were tolerably well preserved, others much decayed; and eighth, all the skeletons were those of adults." —12 B. E., 98.

The particulars he states resemble closely those observed in the exploration by Prof. S. Eaton of another effigy mound in the same group. He apparently does not doubt but that in

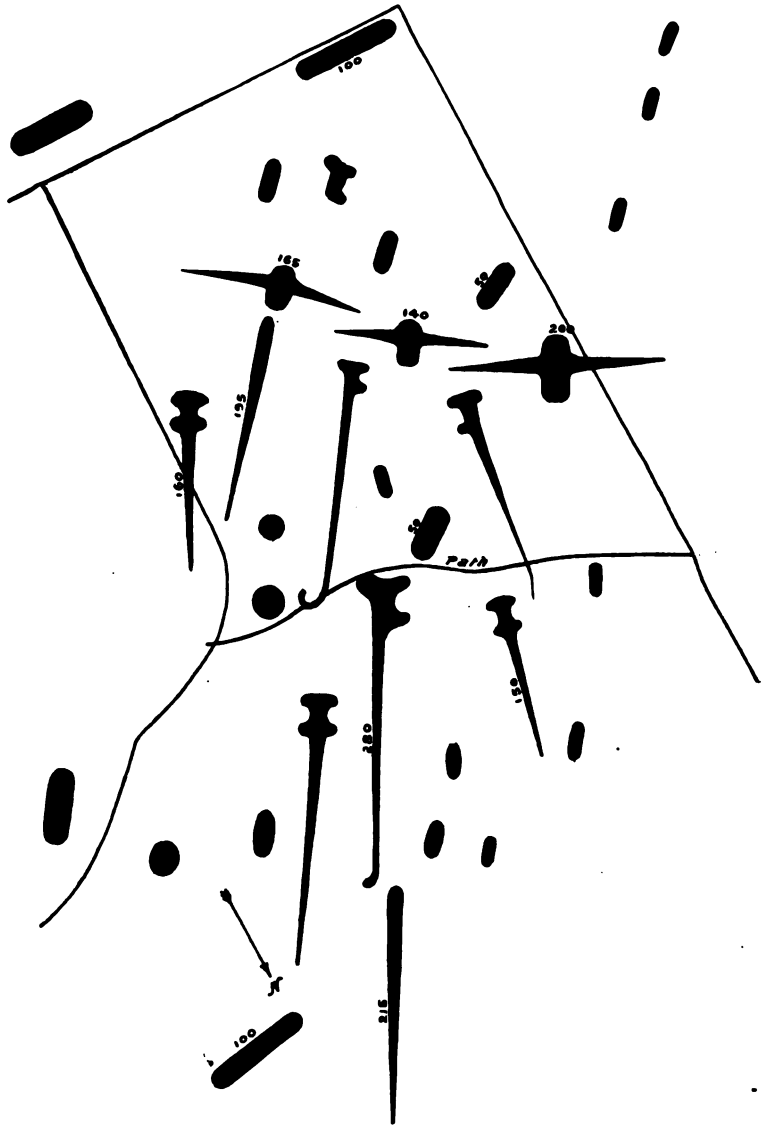


Plate 5.

PLAN OF DEWEY MOUNDS.
Pishtaka, Waukesha County.

both of these instances the burials were original—made when these mounds were built.

Hon. Geo. Gale reports that:

"From a man-shaped mound, opened at Galesville, Wisconsin, in 1860, by Drs. Young and Johnson and myself, there were obtained pieces of the crushed skull, upper jaw, the left side of the lower jaw and teeth, both thigh-bones entire, one shin-bone and many others of less importance."—The Upper Mississippi, 14.

Mr. S. D. Mitchell says of the finding of human remains in a serpent mound located in the Glen Beach group, N. E. ¼, Sec. 34, Green Lake township, Green Lake county:

"Mr. H. D. Cook, the owner of the grounds, removed a portion of the head for grading purposes. He found in what would be the throat or lower part of the head, a badly decomposed human skeleton and a few potsherds. This mound is 35 rods south-east of the south-east angle of Green Lake.

A skull was taken from an effigy mound on the Ruka place Sec. 28, Boscobel township, Grant county.

Human bones and a copper awl were obtained by T. H. Lewis from an effigy mound on the banks of the Wisconsin river, Sec. 21, T. 23, N., R. 8 E., Portage county.

Human bones are stated to have been exhumed from an effigy mound of the panther type on the Carey tract, on the north side of Greenfield avenue, south side of the city of Milwaukee.

Two skeletons were found in an effigy mound of the same type on the Carroll College grounds at Waukesha, in April, 1906. It is claimed that these could not have been intrusive burials.

Elsewhere in this publication, the finding of original Sioux interments in an effigy mound in the Pillager mound group in Minnesota, is mentioned.

Boulder Effigies.

Closely related in form to the effigy mounds are the surface boulder figures, or, as they are sometimes called, "boulder mosaics." According to Prof. T. H. Lewis, these interesting antiquities are met with in western Iowa, Nebraska, Western Minnesota and the Dakotas; South Dakota probably containing the greatest number. (See Plate 7.)

They consist of animal and other figures outlined with small boulders and sometimes with buffalo bones, upon the surface of the ground. The human form, turtle and serpent are said to be the principal figures found. Boulder circles which are considered to have been constructed for the purpose of holding down the skins of the Indian tepees, are usually associated with the boulder effigies.

Their positions and character indicate that they mark the sites of former lodges, which is not only confirmed by the Indians themselves, but the practice is said to be even now resorted to in some of the temporary camps of the Plains Sioux. Small stone mounds (cairns) sometimes accompany the boulder circles and effigies. In the midst of a group of about 50 conical mounds, in the extreme northwest corner of Lyon county, Iowa, the Bureau of Ethnology investigators found circles and ovals built of the granite boulders of the prairie. It was evident that these marked the site of an old village. Both stone mounds and circles are occasionally found in connection with Wisconsin mound groups.

Thomas says of the boulder effigies:

"Although of much smaller dimensions than the massive effigies of Wisconsin, yet there can scarcely be a doubt that they represent in this most western area the others in the eastern section, and that they are the latest and comparatively modern indications of a long maintained custom abandoned only when the influence of European civilization began to be felt. This seems to be proved beyond any reasonable doubt by their association with other remains, which are explained by historical evidence and by the fact that a few are formed of bones."—Thomas, B. E. 12, 535.

Prof. Simms recently (1903) recorded that among the Crow Indians of Montana, a Siouan tribe, a boulder outline figure is constructed to commemorate the unfaithfulness of a wife.—Am. Anthropologist, n. s. V. 374.

The boulder outlines of the west appear to represent the totems and other tribal symbols of the Plains Sioux. Their method of construction is probably due to the fact that the residence of these hunting tribes was not sufficiently permanent to warrant the toil necessary in the erection of more massive works, of the same nature, of earth. They illustrate the continuance in modern times, in a but slightly modified form, of an ancient custom and supply one of the principal links in

the chain of evidence which connects the Siouan tribes of the northwest with the effigy builders of Wisconsin.

Relative Age of Works.

Dr. Lapham, in 1850, presented the following tabulation of the relative ages of the several classes of Wisconsin earthworks.

"First and oldest, the animal forms, and the great work at Aztalan.
"Second: The conical mounds, built for sepulchral purposes, which come down to a very recent period.
"Third: The indication of garden-beds planted in regular geometrical figures or straight lines.
"Fourth: The plantations of the present tribes, who plant without system or regularity."—Antiquities, 92.

He explains that:

"It is not pretended to assert that this was the order in which the mounds were erected; or that the aborigines gradually acquired the art by successive essays or lessons. Indeed we are lead to believe that the complicated forms are the most ancient."—, 91.

Since these suggestions were made, the field of archaeological research in Wisconsin has been considerably extended, which leads to slightly different conclusions on certain points, and opens others to debate. For instance, in the effigy mound area of Wisconsin conical tumuli are found either so closely associated with, or in the very midst of groups of effigy mounds, as to indicate that all were erected within the same period and by the same people. The plats of the groups shown in our Plates 5 and 9, will serve to illustrate this point.

Thomas, in discussing this question, says:

"The fact that the effigy mounds were not generally used as places of sepulture, and that no cemeteries, save the burial mounds, are found in connection with them, is almost conclusive that the two, as a rule, must be attributed to the same people, that they belong to the same system."—B. E. 12, 709.

Some have believed it possible to judge of the difference in the age of various mounds in the same group or vicinity by their outward appearance.

Lapham offered the suggestion in support of his theory in regard to the relative ages of certain of the earthworks, that the animal-shaped and linear mounds were constructed of "whitish clay, the subsoil of the country," and the burial

mounds of "black mould or loam, promiscuously intermixed with the lighter-colored subsoil." Even if these distinctions were true (we now know that the nature of the material employed varies greatly) the difference might well be due to other causes having no particular bearing on the age of the mounds.

It is hardly reasonable to suppose that a savage people would enter into the art of mound-building, by erecting the most intricate forms of animals and birds before learning to construct the simplest forms, or heaps of earth. The intimate relation that the mounds of many groups appear to bear to each other; the fact that no conical mound, whose contents indicate its prehistoric origin, encroaches upon the effigies associated with it, and that the effigies were not mutilated to obtain soil for use in building the other forms, are sufficient reasons for believing that the erection of conical mounds for sepulchral purposes was a custom fully as old as that of effigy building. In southern Wisconsin the building of both burial and imitative mounds must have proceeded simultaneously for a long period of time.

As the plots of garden beds are most frequently associated with groups of effigy mounds we can see no very good reason for not assigning them to the same period. Such indications of ancient cultivation are not of as common occurrence in the state as is generally supposed. The distinction between some examples of them and of the plots of cornhills is not always very great. The Wisconsin garden beds, so-called, occur in plots, the lines or ridges of which are not always particularly regular, and frequently of different lengths.

The information furnished by the early explorers permits of no doubt of the fact that some of our Wisconsin corn hills may go back into the prehistoric period.

Lapham states that the plantations of the present Indians were lacking in system or regularity. Some exceptions to this rule have, however, been noted. Lawson describes the cornfields of the Winnebago village, on Doty Island as consisting of:

"Long regular drills or ridges, covering several acres of ground, each row being from 3 to 6 inches in height, about 3 feet in width and 4 feet 6 inches apart from centre to centre."—Lawson, Sum. Win. Co., 55.

Lapham, who also noted these indications of Indian cultivation, mentions that the hills were regular in appearance, and that the loose stones on the surface had been carefully collected into "little heaps and ridges" to "make room for the culture of the native crops." He comments on the latter as "a new feature, not before observed, or supposed to be within the pale of Indian custom." (Antiquities, 61.)

The introduction of firearms among the early Wisconsin Indians caused them to become more restless and to frequently change the sites of their villages, which might naturally result in their giving less attention to their planting grounds.

Lapham noted the presence at Milwaukee of several effigies and a conical mound over which a subsequent tribe had extended their corn hills. This procedure, he thought, evidenced a lack of respect on their part for the works of those who had preceded them. Such instances are of rare occurrence. The small cornfields in question were very probably those of the Pottawatomie, who at the time of Lapham's survey of these two sites (1848 and 1850), had but recently removed from the locality. The encroachment of their cultivation shows a lack of knowledge of the significance of these mounds, rather than of a lack of respect for them. There is no evidence that the ancestors of this or any other Algonquian tribe were effigy builders.

A careful consideration of the subject leads to the conclusion that when the mound-building Indians first entered Wisconsin territory, they were accomplished mound-builders; that most known forms of earth-works were built by them from the first, or as they were needed or desired.

The custom of erecting imitative forms, if not already practiced by them elsewhere, here came into vogue and attained its greatest development. They gradually grew in numbers and extended their domains. This continued until the incoming tribes of another stock were encountered, and whose influence may have done much toward making the custom of building effigies decline and finally disappear. These advancing tribes probably also erected a few burial mounds. At the advent of white man, effigy mound building, so far as is known, was no longer practiced, but the erection of burial

mounds, enclosures, and of other earthworks of minor importance was continued to some extent.

IV.

Knowledge Necessary for the Construction of Mounds, Time Required to Erect, Age as Indicated by Trees, By Human Bones, Materials of Modern Date in Mounds.

Knowledge Necessary for the Construction of Mounds.

The earliest, most widely distributed, and most easily constructed monuments to the dead are mounds of earth. The custom of erecting such memorials is known to have been world-wide among savage peoples.

"Savages could pile up earth or stones before they could carve a rock or hew a piece of wood. Barbarians would feel that they were showing greater honor to the memory of a leader whose loss bore upon all alike, by the erection of a monument to which every leader might contribute a share of time and labor. Nothing is more enduring; when settled into compactness and covered with sod, a heap of earth will remain unchanged through vicissitudes that reduce to ruins any other product of human industry."—Fowke, Ohio, 43.

Of the earthworks of Ohio he says:

"It would be considered an unreasonable proposition that an intellect which could organize a confederacy such as Tecumseh came near consummating among indifferent or hostile tribes, or a conspiracy like that of Pontiac which almost wiped out of being the settlements over a wide territory, could not plan works similar and equal, to those in the Ohio valley. No less invalid is it to assert that a man who will chase a deer a hundred miles or travel several times that distance to attack a foe, or that the woman who will raise a crop of corn, is too lazy to assist in building a mound; or that persons who will maim, starve or mutilate or otherwise maltreat themselves, or will destroy property representing months of labor, on the death of a chieftain or leader, would not be at the trouble to carry a few yards of earth or stones, in conjunction with other mourners, if inclined to show their grief and respect in that manner."—Fowke, Ohio, 472.

The earthworks so numerous in our state of Wisconsin are of a very simple nature. No engineering skill is displayed

and a very slight knowledge was required for their construction. The often lauded ability displayed in the erection of the effigy mounds, which are a characteristic feature of the archaeology of this region, consisted only in reproducing on the soil in a rude fashion, the animals with which their authors were familiar in their daily life. No greater degree of skill or intelligence is shown than is manifested in the picture writing on the rocks, or the painting on the tents of the early historic Indians. Of the effigies few are well proportioned and many are but clumsy representations. To attempt to correctly identify some of the animals depicted would require a considerable stretch of the imagination. The caudal appendages of many of those intended to represent quadrupeds or reptiles are frequently of greatly exaggerated length. The wings of those designed to portray birds frequently differ greatly in size. The heads, legs and bodies of other effigies are often out of all proportion to each other. Effigies of like type in the same group frequently differ considerably in size, neither is there any special system or order of arrangement observable in many of the groups. The small number of enclosures located in Wisconsin are in no way superior in construction to the embankments surrounding some of the villages of the Indians of post-Columbian times.

No careful student of early Wisconsin history will doubt for a moment the ability, energy and industry of the local tribes, before their partial debasement through the evil influence of the unscrupulous white man. Such of their early village sites as have not yet been entirely wrecked by the plow, plainly indicate by the nature and quantity of their remains what must have been their industry. The accounts of their early wars and forays, of the vast quantities of furs which they procured for the trader, of the large amounts of lead which they mined and of the maple sugar which they manufactured, should close forever any discussion concerning the ability of any of these Indian tribes to erect the best rude and simple earthworks of our state.

Time Required to Erect.

The great number of the earthworks scattered throughout the mound district of Wisconsin, at first thought impresses the average man with the idea that at the time they were built, this region must have been the seat of a vast population. A practical consideration of the subject will dispel this fallacy.

Mound building in this state doubtless extended through several centuries. Operations first commenced in the southern portion and gradually extended northward. But few mounds were erected on any site during the same generation and the time and labor necessary for the building of any particular earthwork is usually over estimated. Fowke explains that:

"The most exaggerated views prevail as to the amount of labor that must enter into the erection of mounds and earthworks."—Fowke, Ohio, 81.

He estimates that the 10,000 mounds of Ohio would contain about 30,000,000 cubic yards of earth (probably four times as much soil as was required to erect all of the Wisconsin mounds combined), would require 1,000 men, if each carried a wagon load a day, to build all in less than a century, were they to work 300 days a year.

The Wisconsin works were built of material scraped up, usually in their immediate vicinity, or carried in baskets or bags from places where it could be most easily worked with wooden paddles or spades. Investigation has shown that in most cases the earth was moved but short distances.

In some instances the separate loads of earth deposited by those assisting in the construction of a mound are still distinguishable. An example of this may be noted in Thomas' description of the exploration of a number of mounds in a group at Rice Lake, Barron couny. (12 B. E., 94–95.)

Among the largest Wisconsin mounds are the effigies. The frequent type known as the "bear effigy" is one of the most bulky forms, yet it rarely exceeds 80 feet in length, an average of 20 feet in width and four feet high. Such an earthwork would probably contain less than 237 cubic yards of earth and the

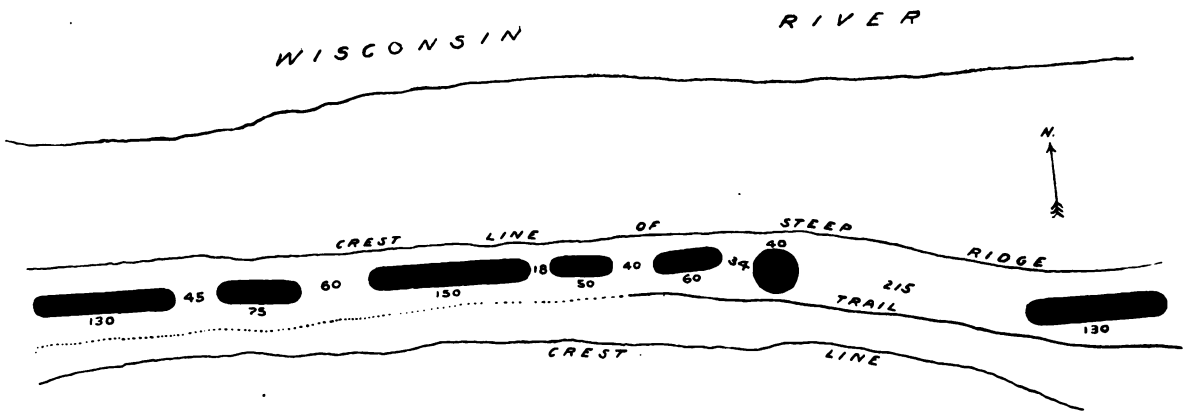


Plate 6.

CLYDE GROUP.

Clyde Township, Iowa County.

time necessary for its construction would require but a day were 237 persons, each to collect and deposit a cubic yard.

The average local conical mound does not contain to exceed 40 cubic yards of earth, and could have been erected in a single day by 40 or 50 persons. Many of the tumuli of this type show by their stratification, that successive layers of earth were added from time to time, under which plan their construction was no great task.

Age as Indicated by Trees.

A familiar argument offered in favor of the great antiquity of the earthworks of our own and other states, is that of the large size of the trees and stumps frequently located on or near them. Such statements occur in many of the older works on American archaeology. Other later authors have shown that the age of large trees is quite commonly over estimated, and that such conclusions are incorrect.

"The celebrated red-wood stump of California, used as a floor for a ball-room, was determined by J. G. Lemmons, in 1875, to be just 1260 years, although oft reported at from 2000 to 3000 years.

"The elm tree planted at New Heaven, Connecticut, in 1790, in memory of Benjamin Franklin, is now over four feet in diameter (and probably exceeds in size the largest tree found growing upon any Wisconsin mound.)

"In 1820, Mr. Beck, the publisher of the 'Illinois and Missouri Gazette,' visited the ruins of old Fort Chartres in Munroe county, Illinois, and found, in the hall of one of the houses, an oak, 18 inches in diameter. As this was forty-eight years after the abandonment, the rate of growth of the tree was one foot in thirty-three years. As this tree was growing in the hall it must have sprung from the acorn after the vacation of the premises."—Mason, 42.

Dr. Foster, the author of "Prehistoric Races," who was a believer in the existence of a mythical race of "Mound Builders," published in his book a table of growth of native forest trees of Wisconsin. This table is here reproduced:

Dr. Foster's table of growth of native forest trees of Wisconsin.

	Number of rings measured.	Width in inches.	Growth in one year in inches.	Number of years for one foot of growth.
Basswood (*Tilia Americana*)	94	5.70	.1212	99
Sugar maple (*Ocer saccharinum*)	83	2.45	.1166	103
Wild cherry (*Prunus serotina*)	44	2.03	.0922	130
Elm (*Ulmus Americana*)	179	9.45	.1056	114
White ash (*Fraxinus Americana*)	172	10.06	.1172	102
White oak (*Quercus alba*)	160	9.00	.1124	107
Burr oak (*Quercus macrocarpa*)	12	.60	.1000	120
Red oak (*Quercus rubra*)	62	6.90	.2226	54
Beech (*Fagus ferruginea*)	160	9.45	.1180	102
Yellow birch (*Betula excelsa*)	20	1.28	.1280	94
White pine (*Pinus strobus*)	60	5.40	.1800	67
Hemlock (*Abies Canadensis*)	42	3.72	.1770	68
Tamarack (*Larix Americana*)	192	12.95	.1344	59
White cedar (*Thuja occidentalis*)	82	4.00	.0976	123

He informs us that perhaps the largest and oldest tree in the state is a white cedar, 22 feet in circumference, noted by a government surveyor near Manitowoc. According to his table this species adds less than one foot to its diameter in 123 years at which rate this tree would be 860 years old.

Some authorities believe Dr. Foster's estimate too high. In order to investigate this matter the author recently had three white cedar trees cut down, each one foot in diameter, exclusive of the bark, and found them to contain 49, 64 and 81 rings respectively. This not only illustrates that the age of a tree cannot be determined with any degree of certainty from its diameter, but that at the same ratio the Manitowoc cedar would be but 480 years old. Dr. Foster, in speaking of the growth of native forest trees of Wisconsin, says:

"It will be seen that it requires the lapse of from fifty-four to one hundred and thirty years for trees to increase their diameters one foot and with the average of the trees measured the time is less than 100 years. Three or four feet in diameter is a large tree; few record that size; hence we may infer, 'he says,' that few of the trees now growing in Wisconsin can antedate the discovery of this continent by Columbus." —Foster, 373-75.

Thomas considers it somewhat strange that the number of years required for one foot of growth as indicated by Foster's table, should be as a rule about double that given by English botanists for the same species. (Thomas B. E., 12, 629.)

Hoy makes the statement that:

"White elms planted in the streets of Racine, in 1847 and 1848, measured in 1882 from six to eight feet in circumference, 2 feet from the ground. Maples planted at the same time were found to be four to five feet in circumference; black and golden willows, eight feet, poplars, eight and a half to nine feet."—Hoy, Mounds, 15.

In considering the age of the native forests of Wisconsin, Lapham concludes that:

"There is some evidence of a greater prevalence than at the present, of prairie or cultivated land in this state, at no very remote age. The largest trees are probably not more than five hundred years old; and large tracts are now covered with forests of young trees, where there are no traces of an antecedent growth."—Lapham, 90.

In the same chapter he informs us that in his opinion no very great antiquity can be assigned to the dense forests of Wisconsin.

At Raymond, Racine County, at the residence of Dr. Geo. West, are four white cedar trees, that were planted as small shrubs, not to exceed five years old, in 1845, making them 66 years of age at the present time.

These trees are located on a hill and have received moisture only from rain and snow. A recent measurement shows them to be 17, 19, 17, and 21 inches in diameter, respectively. This measurement was taken four feet above the ground and due allowance was made for the thickness of the bark.

These trees are of equal age and grown under precisely the same conditions. Their variation in size plainly illustrates the impracticability of even approximating the age of a cedar from its diameter.

Mr. E. M. Griffith, state forester of Wisconsin, has kindly furnished the author with the following results, selected by him at random from among several thousand measurements taken by one of his assistants, during the past summer, while studying the growth of timber in northern Wisconsin:

	Diameter. breast high.	Age in years.
White pine	15	109
White pine	22	114
White pine	23	103
Norway pine	17	104
Norway pine	22	120
Norway pine	30	131
Hemlock	11	104
Hemlock	14	91
Hemlock	16	109
Spruce	13	109
Spruce	15	116
Spruce	17	99
Tamarack	9	56
Tamarack	10	59
Tamarack	13	61
Balsam	11	57
Balsam	14	55
Balsam	16	64
White oak	21	230
White oak	22	227
White oak	23	238
Red oak	10	76
Red oak	13	73
Red oak	27	235

In regard to determining the age of trees by counting the rings of growth, Dr. Thomas says:

"Recent investigations have served to destroy confidence in the hitherto supposed certain test of age, as it is found that even within the latitude of the northern half of the United States, from one to three rings are formed each year; and there is no certainty in this respect, even with the same species in the same latitude."—Thomas, B. E. 12, 627.

Among hundreds of stumps in the forests of northern Wisconsin, from which trees of several varieties had been freshly cut, examined by the author, but a few instances of interrupted growth was found. Such cases were easily distinguishable, the rings of growth being in pairs and running into each other, and being much narrower than the normal ones.

Believing Dr. Thomas' information to be incorrect and in order to test these conclusions, Mr. Griffith was again consulted, and replied:

"You will find that a tree will sometimes show two rings for a year but this occurs only through drought or severe late frosts. After the sap commences to rise, if there is a severe late frost, the growth and the formation of the rings will be stopped and when the sap commences to rise again another ring will be formed but these so called false rings can easily be determined, as the lines of the two rings will cross each other at some point. These false rings, however, are unusual and as a rule you can be very sure that the number of rings will show the exact age of the tree."—Letter, Feb. 2, 1907.

Among a large number of stumps examined by the author in Wisconsin, the oldest, but not the largest, showed but 414 rings of growth. From the evidence presented it would appear that the large trees frequently found growing on mounds present no certain evidence of their great antiquity.

By Human Bones.

The often poor state of preservation of the human bones exhumed from the bases of mounds is occasionally offered as conclusive evidence of the high antiquity of the works in which they repose. In exposing the fallacy of such conclusions that experienced archaeologist, Mr. Gerard Fowke, gives the following undisputable facts:

"The condition of a skeleton bears no relation to the length of time that has passed since its interment. The preservation of bones is dependent almost entirely upon the protection afforded them. If kept perfectly dry they will last indefinitely; if exposed to dampness, especially to the percolation of rain water, they will disappear in a very short time. In sandy ground they will last much longer than in clay. The physical condition of the individual also has a decided influence. Frequently in the same mound, at the same level, in the same kind of earth, in short under identical conditions so far as could be determined by careful inspection, I have found bones so fragile that they would fall to fragments when their removal was attempted, while others within a few feet were hard enough to withstand a sharp blow with a trowel."—Ohio, 116.

The above conclusions are in accord with those of leading investigators in the Wisconsin archaeological field. Inquiry at almost any large modern city cemetery will procure similar information concerning the lasting qualities of human bones, under similar conditions.

In explorations conducted by Dr. Hoy, at Racine, assisted by the author, it was not uncommon to find a skeleton at one side of the base of a mound, in a fair state of preservation, and another, but a few feet distant, on the same level, almost entirely gone, which well illustrates the unreliability of such evidence.

Clarence B. Moore writes:

"At times, in various portions of the mound, the skeleton was represented by remains with hardly greater consistency than putty, while again, often at no great distance from the base, the bones are fairly well preserved. Such remains lay near oyster shells from which doubtless, the infiltration of lime was a potent factor."—Moore, Duval, 32.

Peck, in a long argument on this subject concludes with this interrogation:

"Will anyone say that human skeletons entombed as these are in the mounds of Illinois, but two or three feet below the surface, remain in a state of preservation five or six hundred years? A sober investigation of these questions would result in an entire overthrow of the hypothes.s of existing races of men prior to the Indians founded upon such remains."—Peck, 36.

Many early investigators were imbued with the idea that skulls obtained from the mounds were different, in many particulars, from those taken from historic Indian graves. This conclusion was doubtless influenced by a natural trait in human nature toward superstition.

General Thruston, after a careful investigation of the subject states:

"The variations in forms and capacity of the crania found in the stone graves and in the burial mounds of the Mississippi valley, have led to much controversy. Types nearly as different as the average Caucasian and Ethiopian skulls have occasionally been found in the same ancient cemeteries, and sometimes in adjoining graves, within the mound area of Tennessee, Arkansas, Missouri, and Ohio."—Thruston, Tennessee, 121.

Wilson insists that there is:

"No uniform cranial type and therefore, that no unity among the red races of America can be established by the crania."—Wilson, Pre. Man., v. II, 200.

Hoy, a great student of the subject, said:

"I should like to see that anatomist who can distinguish the crania taken from mounds, from those procured from Indian graves. The skulls from mounds differ just as little as do those of the present Indian tribes."—Hoy, Mounds, 30.

The late Dr. John A. Rice, of Morton, Wisconsin, a noted physician, who was an expert witness in the murder trial of Guiteau, the murderer of President Garfield, and who made a study of a large number of crania secured from mounds and Indian graves in this state, in letter to the author, said:

"In my forty years experience, of the crania and bones collected by me from mounds and graves of the Indians. I find no reason to doubt that they were all Indian and nothing but Indian."—Dec. 19, 1904.

No small amount of attention has been given this subject by the author, who has collected considerable data pertaining to it, and finds no evidence tending to show any distinguish-

ing difference between the crania taken from the mounds and those secured from Indian graves, except in a few intances, evidently resulting from injury, or deformity.

Materials of Modern Date in Mounds.

While the great majority of Wisconsin earthworks doubtless antedate by several centuries the discovery of America by Columbus, the reported presence of articles of European manufacture in some others which have been investigated, indicates that in these localities at least the ancient Indian custom of erecting burial mounds was continued in the early historic period. Of such of these discoveries of which there is full information, the evidence is to the effect that the materials exhumed were found in association with one or more skeletons, at the bases of mounds presenting no indication of intrusive burial. The prominence of certain of the investigators adds value to their published reports:

Dr. Hoy presents the following:

"Nathanial Dickinson, in 1852, opened two mounds at the junction of the White and Fox rivers, in Burlington, Racine county, Wisconsin. In the larger mound, at its base or original surface, were found four skeletons each covered with a thick structure of compact clay. On breaking open the clay cases, they found human bones partly decayed, three copper kettles, many silver ear-rings, breast-pins, glass beads, and one double-armed, ringed, silver cross, with R. C. in Roman capitals engraved upon it. In the other mound, beneath its apex, at the original surface, were found one copper kettle and a small fur-covered, brass nailed trunk. The trunk contained a lot of cheap silver trinkets. The cross and silver trinkets were sold to John Eklins, a jeweler of Racine, who melted them up."—Hoy, Mounds, 26.

Thomas gives the following results of the investigations by Bureau assistants of several mounds on the B. G. Thomas farm at Hazen Corners, Crawford county.

"Three of the round mounds of this group were explored, in each of which were found skeletons much decayed. In two of them no specimens, but in the other, on the original surface of the ground at the center, a small stone celt, some pieces of melted lead, and a regularly formed gunflint. These articles were close together and about 2 feet from the skeleton.—Thomas, 12 B. E., 59.

A long string of glass beads and three bears teeth were obtained from one of a group of burial mounds above De Soto, near Battle Island, Vernon county. (Thomas, 12 B. E., 78.)

Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F., the author of an article on "Historic Sites on Chequamegon Bay" says:

"At Wyman's place, the writer some years ago dug up two Indian mounds, one of which was located on the very bank of the bay and was covered with a large number of boulders, taken from the bed of the bay. In this mound were found a piece of milled copper, some old-fashioned hand-made iron nails, the stem of a clay pipe, etc. The objects were no doubt relics of white men, although Indians had built the mound itself, which seemed like a fire-place shoveled under, and covered with large boulders to prevent it from being desecrated.—13 Wis. Hist. Colls., 431.

The author, in 1870, excavated a mound, 10 feet in diameter and about 3 feet high, located in Racine county, Wisconsin. At its base was found a decayed skeleton, and accompanying it was a copper or brass kettle, with ears from which still hung a fragment of a badly rusted iron bale or handle. (See Hoy, Mounds, 25.)

In an early number of the Wisconsin Archeologist (v. 2, 14–15), Mr. James G. Albright has described the results of the exploration by himself, in 1902, of a mound located on Fox island, in Rest lake, Vilas county This mound was 50 feet in diameter and 4 feet high. At its base were found several skeletons in birch bark wrappings, and with them two badly rusted tin buckets, two iron tomahawks of the well known trade pattern (one with a portion of the decayed wooden handle still in the socket), a silver spoon, a hexagonal spectacle glass, a stone mic-mac pipe, four gun flints, a badly rusted steel knife, a pair of German silver bracelets, brooch and part of a necklace, a quantity of glass beads, a fragment of a comb, a small looking glass, a knife handle, a china saucer, and a tin cup.

This investigation was conducted with due care. The depth and position of the interments within the structure, and the absence of any indication of a disturbance of its sandy strata convinced him that these burials were not of an intrusive nature.

One of a group of four conical mounds located on the State Fair grounds at West Allis, explored in 1850, is reported on good authority to have contained human remains, several brass kettles, and other modern materials. Other similar records are at hand. In the author's possession is a string of brass

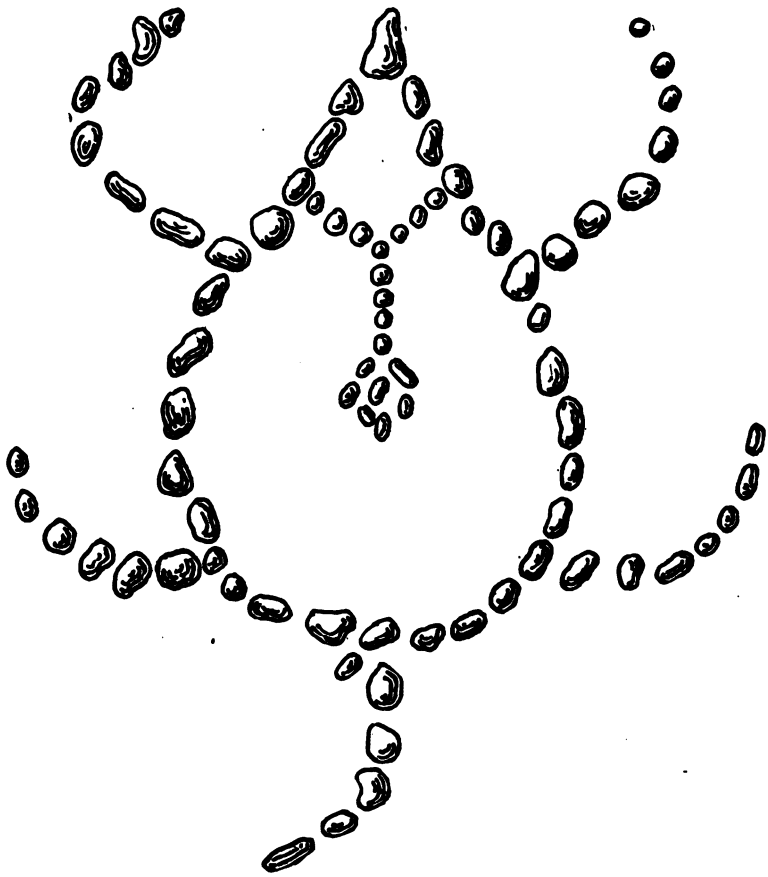


Plate 7.

BOULDER EFFIGY.

Hughes County, North Dakota.

After Thomas

beads taken from a mound at Prairie du Sac. Hoy gives the details of the finding of the two iron trade hatchets, some flint and bone implements with a skeleton in a mound on the Zumbro river, Olmstead county, Minnesota. (Hoy, Mounds, 25.)

Fowke in a report of the Missouri Historical Society, on the recent exploration of the Montezuma mounds on the Illinois river from one of which was obtained a cache of 1,197 chipped leaf-shaped argillite blades, says:

"A study of the features of this group of mounds shows that we have to deal with a people in no respect more advanced than the Indians, living along the Illinois river 200 years ago. The presence of the horse tooth near the bottom of one, brings them to within the limits of a little less than four centuries."—Fowke, Montezuma, 16.

Thomas and other authors make reference to various articles of European manufacture which have been obtained from mounds in Minnesota, Ohio, Illinois, Arkansas, North Carolina, Georgia, Florida and other states.

In the 1906 Ontario Archaeological Report, David Boyle gives an account of the exploration of a mound near Port Colborne. In it were found the bones of fully fifty skeletons doubled up and lying on their sides. With these was a small brass pot, shell and glass beads and the blade of an iron knife. He concludes that this mound was probably erected as late as the first half of the seventeenth century. The Indians interred were "most likely of Huron-Iroquois stock." (p. 15.)

V.

Aztalan, Walls of Brick, Its Religious Significance, Culture and Authorship, Other Enclosures.

Aztalan.

The enclosure and associated earthworks at Aztalan, on the Crawfish river, in Jefferson county, have long been considered among the most interesting and important of the aboriginal monuments of Wisconsin. The enclosure was first noticed by the government surveyor. In 1837, a hasty survey was made by N. F. Hyer, who afterward published a brief description

illustrated by a rude wood-cut in the "Milwaukee Advertiser," an early newspaper. The name Aztalan is said to have been given by him to the place because of a tradition of the Aztec, or ancient inhabitants of Mexico, noted by Humboldt, "that their ancestors came from a country at the north, which they called "Aztalan." This early description Messrs. Squier and Davis copied and published with various suggestions of their own, in the first volume of the Smithsonian Contributions. In 1850, Lapham made a careful survey of Aztalan and of other earthworks in the vicinity, and in 1855 published a description illustrated with several fine plates and figures in his "Antiquities of Wisconsin." In this paper he corrected various errors and exaggerations set forth in the earlier reports and newspaper accounts. Since Lapham's time there have appeared in various newspapers, periodicals and books a large number of descriptions of Aztalan nearly all of which are of so very faulty and fanciful a nature as to be undeserving of notice.

This interesting inclosure, now almost obliterated by many years of cultivation, may be briefly described as being in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, lacking one of the long sides which is supplied by the bank of the Crawfish which forms its eastern boundary. It is reported to contain 17⅔ acres of land. The length of the north wall Lapham gives as 631, the west as 1419, and the south as 700 feet. The width is given as about 22 feet and the height at from 1 to 5 feet. Along the outer edge of its entire length, at somewhat regular distances, were rounded projections which have been frequently referred to as "buttresses or bastions," but which Lapham determined "were never designed for either of the purposes indicated by these names."

"The distance from one to another varies from 61 to 95 feet, scarcely any two of them being exactly alike. Their mean distance apart is 82 feet. On the north wall, and on most of the west wall, they have the same height as the connecting ridge, and at a little distance resemble a simple row of mounds.

On the inner wall, opposite many of these mounds (projections), is a slight depression or sinus; possibly the remains of a sloping way by which the wall was ascended from within the inclosure."—Lapham, Antiquities, 43.

Within the wall at the northwest corner of the enclosure

was a rectangular truncated pyramidal mound, its level top measuring 60 by 65 feet. At its southeast corner was a sloping ascent. At the southwest corner, also within the wall, was a square, truncated mound the level area on its top being 53 feet wide on the west side, it being "originally, in all probability, a square of this size. Lapham's figure shows the sides of the mound rising in two terraces to the top. There appeared to be a sloping way leading down from its top toward the east. It was the highest earthwork within the wall, which it overlooked. These two mounds he judged to have been the probable foundations of buildings or of other structures of perishable materials. From the eastern side of the last mentioned mound a line of wall with a number of projections similar to those on the wall of the enclosure extended about two-thirds of the way to the river, where it angled and proceeded in a northwesterly direction, being broken near its middle, to within about 250 feet of the north wall. Beginning near the angle and on the east side of and paralleling this wall for its entire length, was a second line of wall with projections distributed at various distances along its sides.

Within the enclosure were also a number of excavations, conical mounds, embankments and other earthworks some of which our present knowledge enables us to identify as very probably effigy or emblematic mounds.

Opposite the southwestern angle of the wall of the enclosure were several embankments also with projections along their sides. Scattered at intervals along the entire front of the west wall were a considerable number of excavations irregular in outline and of different sizes, from which some of the earth used in the construction of the wall was most probably taken.

A short distance west of these and also extending along the front of the wall, is a long mound of the familiar tapering effigy type, an irregular line of conical mounds, and a single linear mound. Several hundred feet northwest of the enclosure, on the higher ground, was a double line of sixty or more conical mounds of different sizes, extending from west of the present Aztalan road across the road and in a general northerly direction into the present village of Aztalan. A small number of the more prominent of these can still be seen along the road.

On the east bank of the Crawfish, opposite the inclosure, were two long earthen embankments and a group of conical mounds. The larger of the two embankments Lapham's plat shows to have been about 660 feet in length and probably 18 feet in width.

In our Plate 10 a reproduction of Lapham's plat of Aztalan is given.

Walls of Brick.

The alleged "walls of brick" have given to Aztalan a great deal of undeserved notoriety. It is interesting to note the fondness with which many persons still cling to this absurd bit of fiction, long exploded. Lapham was perhaps the first to show the fallacy of and to cast aside this pet fancy of several early writers, yet he fell into the error of believing it likely that the:

"Clay was mixed with the straw, and made into some coarse kind of envelope or covering, for sacrifices about to be consumed. The whole was probably then placed on the wall of earth, mixed with the requisite fuel and burned."—Antiquities, 44.

The so-called brick (Plate 11) are merely small masses of burnt clay, mixed with reeds and grasses, and without particular shape. They occur at various places along the top of the outer wall of the enclosure, and with them fragments of broken pottery, bits of charcoal and pieces of charred bone. Today these "brickets" are found mostly on the top and near the northwestern angle of the old wall. Long cultivation of the land has also scattered small fragments over portions of the surrounding field. The wall itself was constructed of earth.

"The earth of which the ridge (wall) is made was evidently taken from the nearest ground, where there are numerous excavations of very irregular form and depth."—Lapham, Antiquities, 43.

The "brickets" are Fowke asserts:

"So far from being remains of sacrifices or intentionally burned for any other purpose, they are simply the walls and roofs of mud-plastered huts which have been destroyed by fire. Catlin describes similar huts constructed by Mandans. The object of the vegetable substance is to hold the clay in place—as hair is mixed with mortar by modern plasterers."—Ohio, 100.

Thomas states that:

"During the progress of explorations by assistants of the Bureau of Ethnology, in southeast Missouri, Arkansas and Mississippi, especi-

ally in Arkansas, in numerous instances, probably hundreds, bits of hard-burned clay, containing impressions of grass and cane, were observed. These were generally found 1 or 2 feet below the surface of low flat mounds, from 1 to 5 feet high, and from 15 to 50 feet in diameter, though by no means confined to tumuli of this character, as they were also observed near the surface of the large flat-topped and conical mounds. So common were these burnt clay beds in the low flat mounds and so evidently the remains of former houses that the explorers generally speak of them as house sites."—Thomas, B. E. 12, 662.

Jones (Indians) informs us that the Indians of Florida often interred beneath the floor of the cabin and then burned the hut of the deceased over his remains. The burning of houses constructed in this manner would naturally leave masses of burned clay similar to those found at Aztalan. Anyone who has ever visited Aztalan will find it difficult to believe the fairy tale of the brick walls.

Its Religious Significance.

The works at Aztalan are often referred to in such fanciful terms as "sacred enclosure," "temple mounds," and "sacrificial mounds," all tending to establish a belief that their authors were not ordinary Indians, but religious fanatics who worshipped the sun and offered human beings in sacrifice to this luminary. Even Lapham permited himself to be led astray. In a concluding paragraph of his description of these works he says:

"We may suppose it to have been a place of worship; the pyramidal mounds being the places of sacrifice like the teocalli of Mexico. From its isolated situation, there being no similar structure for a great distance in any direction, we may conjecture that this was a kind of Mecca, to which a periodical pilgrimage was prescribed by their religion. There may have been the annual feasts and sacrifices of a whole nation. Thousands of persons from remote locations may have engaged in midnight ceremonies conducted by priests. The temple, lighted by fires kindled on the great pyramids and at every projection on the walls, on such occasions would have presented an imposing spectacle, well calculated to impress the minds of the people with awe and solemnity."—Lapham, 41-49.

Peet fell into a similar, less excusable error, of imagination:

"There came a sense of awe as we looked about. It was easy to imagine that the place was once given to religious assemblies, and that the platforms or pyramids were covered with temples and smoked with sacrificial fires, and to realize that the place was very sacred to the people.—Preh. Am., v. 2, 210.

Fowke truthfully notes that:

"Such pilgrimages as he (Lapham) suggests were unknown to any race in the United States. The place seems to have been an ordinary Indian village, whose inhabitants were in no great danger from enemies."—Ohio, 100.

What has probably caused more speculation as to the religious significance of these works than any of its features, are two pyramidal, flat-topped mounds located within the enclosure and already described in a preceding chapter. Mounds of similar form have been reported from several localities in Wisconsin. In the South they are a much more frequent type.

That mounds of this class were often the sites of council houses and dwellings of the chief men of the tribe is a fact substantiated by many historical reports. This was a well known custom of the southern Indians. Garcilasso, in speaking of De Soto's arrival at the province of Guaxule, supposed to be in the northern part of Georgia, says:

"The chief, whose name was Guayule, came out with 500 men to meet him and took him into the village in which were 300 houses, and lodged him in his own. This house stood on a high mound. * * * Round about was a road-way sufficiently broad for six men to walk abreast."—Hist. Fa. lib. III, cap. xx, 139.

In the chronicles of De Soto's expeditions frequent mention is made of houses situated on "mounts made by art," or hand.

No evidence has yet been produced tending to show that the truncated mounds, occasionally met with in Wisconsin, were either sacrificial altars, sites of rude temples, or that they were in any manner connected with religious rites or customs, or had any religious significance whatever.

Many wild theories have been advanced as to the uses of Wisconsin enclosures usually connecting them with religious ceremonies, but a careful study of these interesting remains will convince the unpredjuiced that they were erected for other purposes.

In discussing enclosures in general, Lucian Carr says:

"A few of these enclosures may possibly owe their origin to a religious sentiment, but of a large majority of them it may be safely said, in view of recent investigations, that they were simply fortified villages. Self protection was the primary object of the people who lived behind these walls.—Carr, Mounds, 555.

In the succeeding pages information concerning the character and purposes of some of our local enclosures is given.

The Indian's deity was "Manitou" (also known by other names), which meant anything supposed by him to be endowed with supernatural power. No fact is better authenticated than that the Indians paid peculiar homage to the sun. Briton states that it can be shown on undoubted authority, that everywhere in the Mississippi valley, the Indian was a sun-worshipper Bradford believed that among almost all the aborigines there is proof of the former worship of the sun. Bartram was of the same opinion. Lafitau was convinced that as far as known, with the exception of a single tribe, the Indians worshipped the sun. According to Schoolcroft:

"The United States Indians regarded the sun as the symbol of light, life, power and intelligence, and deemed it the expression of the Great Spirit."

McGee observes that on the whole it may be safe to consider the sun as the arch-mystery of the peoples of the Siouan stock. (15 B. E., 184.)

The Wisconsin Indians bowed with reverence, not only o the sun but to the waters, winds, thunder, rocks of peculiar formation and many other objects in nature, to which they made simple offerings. This seems not to have been done as an atonement for sin, but to obtain some temporeal advantage, or to avert the anger of the spirits.

Father Marquette (Relations, 1670) reported that the sun and thunder were the gods of the tribes that lived on the shores of Green Bay. Allouez says of the religious beliefs and superstitions of the Wisconsin Indians:

"There is here a false and abominable religion, resembling in many respects the faiths of some of the ancient Pagans. The Savages of these regions recognize no sovereign master of Heaven and Earth, but believe there are many genii, some of which are beneficient, as the sun, the moon, the lakes, rivers and woods; others malevolent, as the adder, the dragon, cold and storms. And in general, whatever seems to them either helpful or hurtful they call a Manitou, and pay it the worship and veneration which we render only to the true God."—Relations, 1666–67.

Nothing appears in the religious beliefs or customs of the early historic Indians of Wisconsin indicating the offering of human beings as sacrifices to any of their deities.

Lapham explored by trenching, an imperfect method, one of the long row of burial mounds lying a short distance northwest of the Aztalan wall and in it found ashes mingled with charcoal and occasional fragments of human bones.

"The bones of some burrowing animals and the remains of a fish were taken out. Fragments of rotten wood, apparently oak were found at all depths. They were not charred, nor did they appear to have had any definite arrangement, but were confusedly placed, as if carelessly thrown upon the mound during the progress of its construction."

"From the oft-repeated indications of fire at various depths, we could draw no other conclusion than that this was a 'mound of sacrifice,' and that at each repetition of the ceremony an addition was made to the height of the mound."—Antiquities, 48.

He here fell into a common error of early investigators. The data presented goes to prove that the mound itself was nothing more than an ordinary burial mound, like others about it. The bones of burrowing animals and fish, ashes and charcoal and fragments of decayed wood indicate that, as was frequently the case, they were included in the earth used in the construction of this mound, which had been collected from a nearby dwelling site, where culinary and other domestic operations had been carried on. The fragments of human bones exhibited no evidence of the action of fire. They also may have been scraped up with the soil covering some shallow grave or graves.

That cremation, as a means of disposing of the dead was occasionally practiced by some of the mound building Indians of Wisconsin, is possible. The presence of partly burned human bones in sepulchral mounds is however more readily accounted for as the result of a burial ceremony in which fire played an important part.

Thomas says of a number of mounds explored by Col. Norris and Mr. Middleton in south-western Wisconsin and the adjoining sections of Iowa and Illinois:

"There were abundant evidences that after the body or bodies had been buried, a layer, usually of a mortar like substance, spread over them, a fire was kindled on this layer. Sometimes this was so fierce and the layer so thin and defective that the bones beneath were more or less charred."—Thomas, B. E., 12, 678.

Similar observations have been made by leading archaeologists in our own and other states, in fact this mode of burial was not uncommon.

In gathering up soil for the erection of a mound the remains

Plate 8.

RATTLESNAKE.
A Winnebago Chief.

From Lewis Aboriginal Portfolio.

of cannibal feasts may also have been occasionally collected with other kitchen refuse. That cannibalism was a not uncommon practice among early historic Wisconsin Indians is shown by the accounts of early writers. Radisson, Perrot, Carver, La Potherie and others make references to such practices. The latter historian says of the Winnebago:

"In former times the Puans were the masters of the (Green) Bay, and a great extent of adjoining country. * * * If any stranger came among them, he was cooked in their kettles.—Relation, 1640.

He also refers to the Winnebago as "man-eaters," and describes a treacherous massacre of 500 Illinois, which was followed by a general "Feast of their flesh."

Culture and Authorship.

A comparative study of the tools, weapons, pottery, pipes and ornaments obtained during investigations and brought to light through the progress of long-continued cultivation at Aztalan, and now to be seen in local public and in many private collections, shows that these do not present any differences in form or character from those of many other sections of the state.* Neither do they indicate any superior ability or advancement in the art of the manufacture of such objects. The unfinished, the rude, and the artistically fashioned are there commingled as on many another Wisconsin village site. Neither the style of the pottery or the manner of its ornamentation, when so embellished, present any noteworthy differences to that obtained elsewhere in southern Wisconsin.

Prof. E. E. Sheldon of Omro, who grew to manhood in the neighborhood, says in a letter to the author:

"It has always appeared to me that the Aztalan relics differed but little, if any, from the ordinary run of relics common to this state." —Dec. 29, 1907.

Other students who have had an opportunity to study the products of the site agree with the writer.

From such information as is given by Lapham and as has been since collected from other sources it is evident that the methods of mound burial at Aztalan do not differ materially from those noted in other sections of the state.

*None are Mexican in style.

Lapham noted the unsuitableness of the location of Aztalan for use as a purely defensive work, or as a retreat in time of danger:

"But this fort is entirely commanded from the summit of a ridge extending along the west side, nearly parallel with, and much higher than the west walls themselves, and within a fair arrow-shot, so that an enemy posted on it would have a decided advantage over those within the defences. This ridge would also constitute an excellent breastwork to protect an enemy from the arrows shot from the supposed fort. As if purposely to assist an approaching enemy, a number of mounds have been erected along the ridge, affording secure hiding places, etc. These may, however, have been erected at a more recent date.

From the summit of the ridge alluded to, the ground descends towards the river; so that the inclosure is on a declivity, and is thus commanded from the opposite side of the river. Here again, as if purposely to render aid and comfort to an enemy, a breastwork is erected, extending along the margin of the stream, from behind which arrows or other weapons could be thrown directly into the fort by persons lying in perfect security.

From the skill exhibited by the mound-builders in their works of defence in other portions of the West, we cannot imagine that they would construct such a fort as this."—Antiquities, 49, condensed.

The location is certainly not the best, yet it may be noted that the erection of a wooden palisade on the wall, and the walls of the huts and other structures on and within it, would afford some additional protection to the inhabitants. The outworks would doubtless be fully manned by warriors of the village in case of an attack.

In a closing paragraph of his chapter on Aztalan he says:

"Do not these facts warrant the suggestion that the people of Aztalan, in Wisconsin, were a different people, in many respects, from those who erected the animal-shaped mounds? This locality may possibly have been occupied by a colony of Mexicans; since we know that colonies were sometimes sent out by that singular people."—Antiquities, 50.

In grateful remembrance of what he did for Wisconsin archaeology, we may forgive this error of judgement.

Such conclusions are no longer permissible. No such colony ever penetrated to within a thousand miles of Wisconsin. The old wall is certainly not Mexican in style, nor are any of the artifacts found within the enclosure.

From the Winnebago, the last residents of this locality, he was unable to obtain any information concerning its builders.

(p. 17.) After the lapse of centuries it was hardly to be expected that they could give information.

Elsewhere he suggests that a study of the customs of the tribes of the great Siouan stock (to which the Winnebago belong) may unravel the mystery of the Wisconsin mounds.

The several effigy mounds located within and without the enclosure (Plate 10), the character of which he evidently failed to note; the chain-mound construction of the several embankments within the walls, the alignment of certain of the conical mounds near the enclosure and the enlargements along the outer edge of the walls themselves, as well as certain other features all serve to connect Aztalan with the builders of the effigy and associated mounds of Wisconsin. The presence of other groups and scattered effigy mounds in the vicinity, and the testimony of the several enclosures discovered by Prof. T. H. Lewis, mentioned on pages 230–31, admit of no other conclusion.

The Indian population of the enclosure could not have been large, since, as noted by Lapham, only about 17½ acres of land are included within its walls. The latter were probably at one time surmounted by a palisade. Some of the enlargements of the wall, especially near its northwest corner, were very probably the sites of mud-plastered huts. The presence of lumps of burned clay, fragments of charcoal and burned wood, charred pieces of bone, clam shells and broken pottery, often blackened by fire, etc., near the surface, in confused masses give certain evidence of this. Numerous chips and fragments and occasional blanks attest to the fact that the making of flint implements was carried on. Other dwellings were evidently located within the enclosure, both on the embankments and the natural surface of the ground. The location of some of the latter are probably indicated by the small rings and circles of earth noted by Lapham. The several platform mounds in the corners of the wall were probably the sites of larger structures, possibly of the residences of chiefs or other important men of the tribe, or of council houses. The so-called "well" Peet found to be merely an excavation surrounded by a low ring of earth. Within it was "a natural spring," then filled with reeds and grass. The fabled "ancient sewer, arched

with stone" in the ravine on the river bank, Lapham proved to have no existence. He also disproved the existence of any such ridge along the river bank as was noted in Mr. Hyer's early plan. The many irregular excavations within the enclosure indicate the places from which soil was taken for the erection of the various surrounding earthworks. The so-called "sacrificial mounds" and others without the enclosure investigation has shown to be simple burial mounds. A few burials appear to have been made in the wall itself. The ancient Indians must have depended for subsistence largely on the success of their hunting and fishing. No cornfields or other indications of cultivation have been reported from the neighborhood, yet such evidences probably existed. Wild rice grew in the stream. Trails connected the site with other villages in the vicinity, and at a distance.

After considering all of the evidence now accumulated, we cannot fail to conclude that the so-called Aztalan was nothing more than the site of a prominent permanent village of prehistoric Indians of the effigy mound period, who appear to have been in no great danger from enemies, and had not yet advanced far beyond the stage of barbarism.

Other Enclosures.

Other enclosures, none of which are however as extensive or interesting, have been located in Wisconsin. On the east side of the Crawfish river, also in Jefferson county, and just below the famous enclosure known as Aztalan, Prof. T. H. Lewis has described two other small but interesting enclosures, which had long escaped notice. One of these bears a close resemblance in outline to the larger work. It also has its open side resting on the river bank. The following is from his description of them:

"The embankments forming these two enclosures * * * were probably palisaded; for with such augmentation the sides would not be tenable, the embankments being too low to admit of a successful defense.

As to the builders, it may safely be assured that one people or tribe built and occupied all three of the inclosures—the original "Aztalan" and the two new ones descried in this paper. This is indicated by the platform mounds, there being one or more within each of the enclosures. In addition the ruined effigies within one-fourth of a mile north of

west (and within the old Aztalan enclosure)—a continuation of the Aztalan mound system on the high land—and the animal effigy within the upper enclosure, on the east side of the river, also indicate that these pre-historic architects were the effigy builders.—Lewis, Enclosures, 360–61.

A number of other enclosures of large and small size are described and figured by Lapham. These include an oval enclosure at Fulton, Rock county; a rectangular enclosure with double walls at the Wisconsin Dells in Adams county; a rectangular enclosure with projections at the four corners at Plover Portage, Portage county, a "horse-shoe" shaped and a double oval enclosure near Forest Home cemetery at Milwaukee; a "horse-shoe" shaped work on the bank of Root river, near Racine; also at Pike Lake, Washington county, and a double "horse-shoe" shaped work near Sheboygan, etc. Several of these are included in groups of or in the vicinity of effigy mounds. (Antiquities.)

A. B. Stout has described a small rectangular enclosure in connection with the "Stage Road" group of effigy mounds in Delton township, Sauk county. (Stout, 5 W. A., No. 2, 237.)

A large and a small "horse-shoe" shaped enclosure have been located by the Wisconsin society, on the Fox river, near Big Bend, the larger being accompanied by a group of effigy mounds.

P. V. Lawson has described a small oval work with a double wall as occurring in a group of effigy mounds at Oakwood, and a square enclosure with conical mounds within the four corners, at the head of Rush lake, both in Winnebago county. (2 W. A., 63, 76.)

W. H. Canfield has described and figured an octagonal enclosure, located in Section 18, Dellona township, Sauk county. (Outline Sketches, 15.)

The celebrated Mascoutin and other early Wisconsin Indian villages are reported as having been protected by palisades. On Doty Island, Lawson has located the remains of the embankment at one time supporting the Winnebago stockade, on the old village site of that tribe. It is surrounded by effigy mounds and evidences of early cultivation.

On the Race farm, three-quarters of a mile west of Little Butte des Morts Lake, he believes that he has located the re-

mains of the earthwork which supported the palisaded fort of the Fox Indians and in which, in 1716, they successfully resisted for three days, the French expedition under Sieur de Louvigny, which had been sent to destroy them. A second expedition in 1728, destroyed the village and the stockade. (2 W. A., Nos. 2 & 3, 50, 54.)

Charles D. Robinson described an earthwork formerly located at the Red Banks, on the eastern shore of Green Bay, and believed to be the remains of an early stronghold of the Sac and Fox Indians. He gives an Indian legend of its siege and destruction by the Menomenee and allied tribes. (Wis. Hist. Colls., V. 2, 491–494.) Schoolcraft described and figured an elliptical embankment on an island in Lake Vieux Désert, which he concluded to be the remains of an early Indian fort. Within the enclosure were "small mounds or barrows, together with some cross embankments." Two large excavations were without the walls. (Hist. Ind. Tribes V. 2, 91, pl. lii.)

Lapham, who quotes the description, thought that the author may have mistaken natural elevations caused by the expansive force of ice for artificial earthworks.

It is quite evident that the larger of some of the enclosures mentioned mark the sites of villages; the smaller of buildings, or even of dance grounds.

VI.

Copper Mines at Lake Superior, Source of the Metal Known to Early Historic Indians, Mining of Copper and Use of Copper Implements by Upper Mississippi Valley Tribes.

Copper Mines at Lake Superior.

Along the south shore of Lake Superior, ancient mining pits and trenches extend over a stretch of country known as the Trap range, for about one hundred and sixteen miles, through Keweenaw, Houghton and Ontonagon counties, with a varying width of from two to five miles. On Isle Royale, is located a

chain of abandoned workings, occupying a region about thirty miles long and five wide. From these two locations came all the copper used in the fabrication of thousands of the implements and ornaments found throughout Wisconsin and adjoining states. The successive glacial periods distributed detached pieces of this metal, known as float or drift copper, over an area, according to Prof. Salisbury, of about six hundred miles north and south, and seven hundred miles east and west, with the Lake Superior copper region at its northern edge.

Various descriptions of the methods of aboriginal copper mining in the Lake Superior region have been published. Among these are a number in which the authors have carried to a ridiculous extent their fanciful conceptions of the engineering skill exercised by the natives in obtaining the metal. As a fair sample of some of the exaggerated statements contained in these reports we may quote Schoolcraft who refers to these workings as:

"Vestiges of ancient mines so important in character, that modern miners have paused in astonishment to behold"—Hist. Ind. Tribes, v. 5, 395.

This statement is mild when compared to the wild guesses and conclusions of a score of other writers, most of whom had evidently never visited the region.

The following extract from a recent report of Dr. W. H. Holmes, present director of the American Bureau of Ethnology, who made a careful investigation of the district, removes all doubt as to the character of the workings and of the methods employed by the Indian miners:

"The Lake Superior copper occurs in veins, bounded on either side by the hard metamorphic rocks making the upper peninsula of Michigan. The action of the athmosphere and of the acids from decaying vegetation upon the mineral, having produced a partial disintegration of the gangue, or rock in which it is held, the glacier scooped out deep troughs or channels in the rock thus softened. Often these depressions were only partially filled with drift, leaving more or less of the copper-bearing rock exposed as a wall on either side.

"Aboriginal mining in this region had its beginning in the hammering or cutting off of portions of the metal thus left visible; when the level of the gravel was reached, it was cleared away to follow the wall downward. From this it was but a step to removing the loose material in order to reach the copper vein at the bottom; and soon it was discovered that wherever one of these partially filled trenches occurred, copper was to be found beneath the gravel, whether any of it could be seen on the surface or not.

"When quarrying into the solid rock began, it was carried on in the ordinary Indian fashion, namely, by heating the rock, pouring water on it, and breaking up the fragments thus obtained, with stone hammers; perhaps using these hammers before the application of fire, so long as effective work in this manner was feasible or profitable. The hammers were rounded water-worn boulders, carried up from the lake shore or from the lower valleys. Modern work has shown that some excavations thus made were fully twenty feet in depth; and it is quite possible that others which have not yet been cleared out are much deeper."—Fowke, Ohio, 710-11.

The author, who in 1885 himself conducted investigations in certain parts of the Lake Superior country, can attest to the truth and value of the foregoing observations. Hundreds if not thousands of these now partly filled pits and trenches have been located, but no shafts or tunnels, or anything that could be considered mining in the generally accepted meaning of that term. When cleared of debris these pits were found to be from less than ten feet to a large diameter. In some of these great numbers of the stone mauls or hammers have been found. Many of these were grooved for the attachment of a handle and are of large size and considerable weight.

Wooden bowls, employed for baling out the water, remains of bark baskets, used in removing the loose rock and dirt, and portions of timber thought to have been employed as skids and ladders have also been found in the pits among the rubbish. Some copper chisels, probably employed in cutting up pieces of mass copper, have also been recovered. Paddles or shovels, of white cedar, resembling those now in use by the Chippewa for propelling their canoes, are reported by Whittlesey (Mining, 7–10) as having been found in the pits. All of the mechanical contrivances employed were of a very simple nature, and the workings themselves illustrate nothing more than the endurance and patience of the Indian miners in their endeavors to possess the ore. With levers and men to use them the elevating of even the largest masses of copper which could be disengaged, could be accomplished without the application of any principle not understood by the most savage tribes.

The American Indians are known to have mined deposits of other materials, which required fully as much toil as did the securing of the copper at Lake Superior. The catlinite quarries of Minnesota, were worked until within a generation,

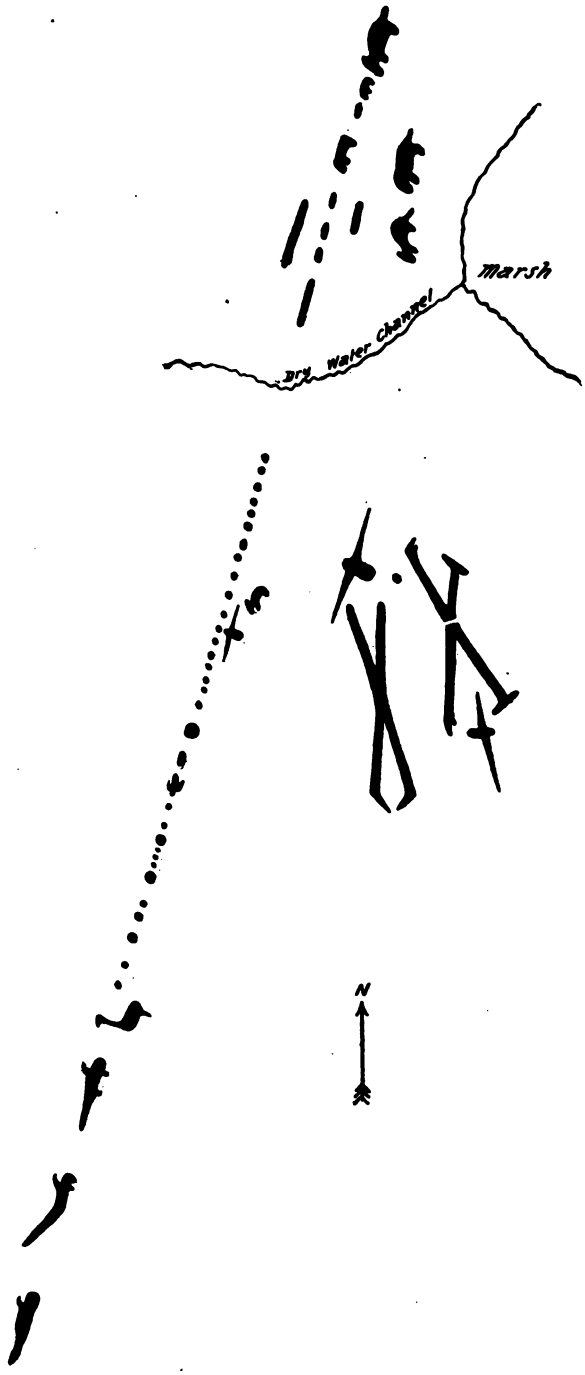


Plate 9.

KINGSTON GROUP.
Sumpter Township, Sauk County.

by the use of mauls and levers similar to those found in the copper pits. Mica was mined in North Carolina for a long period of time, and according to Prof. Kerr, the workings were not abandoned until after the advent of the whites. These mines often contained:

"Open pits 40 to 50 feet wide, by 75 to 100 feet long and 15 to 20 feet deep, and sometimes have tunnels fully one hundred feet in length."—N. C. 1875, 300.

These excavations extend all through Mitchell and the adjoining counties. Dr. Holmes has investigated a large number of steatite and quartzite quarries, located in the valleys of the James, Potomac and Susquehanna rivers and describes their extent as "almost beyond conception." One of the best known and most extensive aboriginal flint quarries in the United States, is located at Flint Ridge, Licking county, Ohio, and upon which, judging from the descriptions of Fowke and other writers, an even greater amount of labor has been expended by the Indians than upon the workings at Lake Superior. The obsidian quarries of Yellowstone Park, the novaculite workings of Arkansas, and numerous others of lesser magnitude may all be cited, as evidences of hard and patient toil by the Indians, under press of necessity.

Source of the Metal Known to the Early Historic Indians.

The early European explorers and missionaries found copper implements and ornaments, or pieces of the metal itself, in the possession of many of the Indian tribes of eastern North America, from the St. Lawrence river on the north to the Gulf of Mexico on the south. This metal and a very large quantity which has since been recovered from the mounds, graves and village sites of the eastern United States, investigation has shown, must have been procured from the Lake Superior country. Smaller quantities were probably obtained from places where copper occurs in Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, New Mexico, Arizona and elsewhere. The British possessions have deposits of this metal, but there is little reason to believe that the natives utilized these sources of supply to any considerable extent.

Not only did they possess pieces of the metal and various articles made of it but there was a widely diffused knowledge among them of the distant source from which the "red copper" was procured.

The early French explorers were informed by the Indians, even as far south as the Gulf of Mexico, that copper came from a distant country in the north, and this information was verified as these voyagers neared the region of the Great Lakes.

In an account of Cartier's second voyage, 1535, given by Harkluyt, it is stated of the Indians along the south shore of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, that they said to Cartier that:

"The way to Canada was toward the west, and that the north shore, before Canada was reached, was the beginning of Saguenay, and that thence cometh the red-copper of them named Cavgetdage."

The same historian informs us that on this voyage, Cartier kidnapped a chief of a local tribe, to take with him to France. Sympathizing tribesmen who visited the chief before the ship sailed, were assured of his early return, for which:

"They greatly thanked the captain and gave their lord three bundles of beaver and sea-wolves skinnes, with a great knife of red copper, that commeth from Saguenay."

The early explorers in Canada, on the coast of New England, New York, Virginia, the Carolinas and Florida, including, besides Cartier,—Alfonse, Verrazano, Raleigh, Heriot, Ribault, Newport, Allouez, De Soto and Champlain,—all concur in saying that the Indians were using implements and ornaments of copper.

Cartier found the natives of the whole sea-board "sparingly in possession of the red metal." Verrazano, in 1524, saw, along the Atlantic coast, "many plates of wrought copper which they (Indians) esteem more than gold." Newport was told by Powhatan, in 1607, that the copper they had "was got in the bites of rocks between cliffs in certain veins, a great distance north." Abbe Segart, a missionary to New France in about the year 1630, gave an account of the resources of the country in his "Grand Voyage du pays des Hurons," and mentions specimens of copper from the Lake Superior mines, which he says were "80 or 100 leagues distant from the country of the Hurons.

Rev. W. M. Beauchamp gives additional data bearing on the subject:

"When Bartholemew Gosnold was at Cape Cod in 1602 he saw a young Indian with plates of copper hanging to his ears. These may have come from European contact, but Gosnold did not suggest this. Farther south they were visited by natives, one of whom wore a copper plate, a foot long and half as broad, on his breast."—Metallic Implements, 7.

"Soon after Quebec was founded Champlain mentioned a piece of very handsome and pure copper given him by an Algonquin. It was a foot long. The great discoverer said, 'He gave me to understand that there were large quantities where he had taken this, which was on the banks of a river, near a great lake. He said that they gathered it in lumps, and having melted it, spread it in sheets, smoothing it with stones."—Champlain, 2, 236.

Father Claude Allouez, in 1666 made the following statement of the Algonquian superstition regarding copper:

"They say that the little pebbles of copper which they find at the bottom of the water in the lake, or in the rivers emptying into it, are the riches of the gods who dwell in the depths of the earth."—J. R., 1666–67.

Father Dablon describes the places at Lake Superior where the Indians obtained copper.—Relations, 1669–70.

These and numerous other references to the copper of this district, found in the Jesuit Relations, tend to prove a knowledge of these workings, on the part of the natives, in early historic times.

Mining of Copper and use of Copper Implements by Upper Mississippi Valley Tribes.

The evidence of the mounds, and of the earlier village sites is to the effect that before the coming of white man the use of copper had become quite general among the Indian tribes of the upper Mississippi valley.

It is very probable that the native metal first became known to them through the accidental discovery of small nuggets among the debris of the glaciers, and as it quickly came into demand, was traced to its source in the Lake Superior region. These deposits they mined, cutting it into shapes convenient for transportation to their villages, where it was fashioned into articles for their own use, or for the purpose of trade with distant tribes.

Nowhere in this entire valley do copper implements however appear to have entirely replaced those of stone, the use of which was continued until quite recent times. The manufacture of copper implements doubtless extended through several centuries. The Siouan Winnebago and Dakota of Wisconsin being nearest the source of supply possessed of course the greater quantity. Even among them the use of copper artifacts did not in prehistoric times equal the use of others. The author estimates that up to the present time about 15,000 copper implements and ornaments have been recovered in Wisconsin, the proportion being at least 300 stone artifacts to one of copper. The greater quantity of these are from the eastern portion of the state, and the majority from six counties. Among the outlying tribes in other states copper implements were yet probably somewhat of a luxury, when the intrusion of the Algonquian tribes into Wisconsin made access to the mines more and more difficult. The Chippewa, Pottawatomie, Menomonee and other tribes of this stock, who destroyed the power of the Sioux, were already in the possession of the greater portion of the state when the earliest whites arrived. They knew of the sources of the metal but had probably not yet learned to fabricate copper implements. Hence it is not to be expected that they should possess any but the stone, bone and shell implements which the early explorers and missionaries reported. To such nuggets and pieces of copper as they possessed, mystic or magic motives were attributed. When inquiries were made of the older Chippewa by an old resident of the region, concerning the copper mines:

"They stated in reply that the pits and other signs of digging were found, practically as they were at that time, when the first Chippewas came into the country; that their tribe had never mined copper, but 'the old men' (meaning their ancestors) had chopped fragments with their hatchets from boulders lying on the surface and carried them to the sea-coast to exchange for shells."—Fowke, Ohio, 710.

Other authors have collected similar information. Mr. John T. Reeder, of Houghton, Michigan, who has been engaged in copper mining for a score of years, and has had an excellent opportunity to study the subject, says in a recent communication:

"I do not question your contention that prehistoric Indians did the copper mining in this district. I think however that the aboriginal

miners were not the Chippewa but from farther south, and their characteristics would lead me to believe that they belonged to the same race who built mounds and other earth-works."—Dec. 29, 1906.

Dr. Jacobson of Boston, who spent several years on Lake Superior during the early period of copper excitement, told Dr. Hoy, in 1844, that:

"It was undoubtedly the Chippewas that mined and probably that the French half-breeds assisted in these old mines. The fresh condition of the wood-work, skids and ladders, and the fact that sharp axes were used in fitting the timbers, is evidence that they were not of great antiquity."—Hoy, Mounds, 8.

Lapham thought the sleepers, levers, wooden bowls, etc., to be "rather indicative of Caucasian ingenuity and art." He suggested that the Chippewa were probably the ancient miners.

"If we assume the age of the tree growing upon the rubbish, thrown out of an ancient mine (395 years) as indicative of the epoch, or near it, when the mines were worked, it is only about double the time that the Chippewas have been known to occupy this region. The discovery of wooden levers and wooden bowls, forbid us to assign a much greater antiquity to these works."—Antiquities, 75.

Fowke has shown that:

"All these data are uncertain guides. The rubbish may have lain for a long time before the particular tree in question began to grow. The wooden articles mentioned were all in use among Indians, and would last indefinitely under water, especially when it contains copper in solution."—Ohio, 709.

Chrysostom Verwyst informs us that a celebrated Ojibwa chief of the Crane family named Tagwagané, who used occasionally to reside on Chequamegon Bay, Wisconsin, had a copper plate, an heirloom handed down in his family from generation to generation, on which were rude indentations and hieroglyphics denoting the number of generations of that family which had passed away, since they first pitched their lodges there. From this original mode of reckoning time, Mr. W. W. Warren concludes that the ancestors of his family first came to La Pointe *circa* A. D. 1490.—(Wis. Hist. Colls., v. 13, 430.)

After weighing all of the evidence, we may safely conclude that the Chippewa after their occupation of the region, did do at least a small amount of digging for copper, which for purposes of trade, or for other uses, they found of value. This continued until the arrival of the traders laden with desirable articles caused a suspension of mining operations, and diverted

the attention of the Indian from mining and agriculture to trapping and hunting for furs.

By these and other Algonquian tribes, the Winnebago and Dakota had been for a long period of time almost wholly cut off from the source of supply. Hence the manufacture of copper articles among them was interrupted and finally had of necessity to be discontinued. Radisson, who wintered among the Boeuf (or Buffalo) band of Dakota in Minnesota, in 1661–62, is the only one of the early visitors to this region who makes reference to articles made of native copper. In his description of these Indians he says:

"Their ears are pierced in 5 places; the holes are so big that your little finger might pass through. They have yellow waire that they make with copper, made like a star or a half moon, and there hang it."—Wis. Hist. Colls., v. 11, 86.

Henry, (Travels) informs us that when he visited Lake Superior, at the time of the French war, the Indians obtained copper there, "which they made into ornaments and implements."

William N. Rogers, for several years connected with the Indian Agency at Keshena, Wisconsin, told Dr. Hoy that he frequently saw copper implements in the hands of the Chippewa and Winnebago. Many of their pipes were ornamented with copper.

Saterlee Clark, Indian agent for the Winnebago from 1828 to 1830, in a personal communication to Dr. Hoy, said:

"When I first came among the Winnebagoes many of them had copper-headed weapons. Many of them carried lances headed with copper. —Hoy, Mounds, 12.

One celebrated calumet which formerly belonged to Black Hawk, later owned by a Winnebago chief, had a broad rim of copper with great blotches of native silver.

Copper is known to have been mined and hammered into implements by historic Indians, for Packard says, about 1713 or 1714:

"Before Churchill River was settled by the Hudson Bay Company, the Indians had no other metal but copper among them. * * * Numbers of them from all quarters used every summer to resort to these hills in search of copper, of which they made hatchets, ice-chisels, baynots, knives, arrow-heads, etc. * * * By help of fire and two stones the Indian 'he says' could beat a piece of copper into any shape he wanted. * * * Their hatchets were made of a thick lump of

copper, about 5 or 6 inches long 1½ to 2 inches square, they are bevelled away at one end like a mortise chisel, and fastened to a handle making an implement much resembling an adze."—Packard, Mining, 1892.

Prof. Butler exhibited to the author a copper spearhead which had been plowed up by Sanford Marsh, in Waukesha county. The hole contained a small fragment of an iron rivet, proven to be such by the application of a magnet, which indicates the use, if not the manufacture, of this copper spearhead after the Indians had come in contact with the whites. A description of this find has since been published in the American Antiquarian. (Wis. Hist. Colls., v. 7, 80.)

In 1870, the author procured from a mound at Raymond, Racine county, a copper spearpoint, two irregular pieces of copper showing hammer marks, a copper or brass kettle of European manufacture and the remains of a skeleton, over which the mound was evidently erected. This find is reported in "Who Built the Mounds," p. 26.

Hoy took from each of three Indian graves, in the Town of Caledonia, Racine county, which were side by side, several copper beads and cylindrical articles of copper which were three or four inches in length. In one of the graves were found "two blue cut glass beads." Another copper implement was plowed up near by together with a few Indian bones, by Wiliam Hess.

In recent years, copper implements have frequently been obtained from graves in various parts of the state, thought to be those of historic Indians.

Nearly sixty years ago, Dr. Lapham as a result of his investigations, came to the conclusion that:

"We are lead to the inference that the men who built the mounds of Wisconsin, and those who first opened up the Lake Superior copper mines were one and the same people, and that they were none other than the ancestors of the present race of Indians."—Antiquities, 76.

Hoy after a careful examination of all the then available evidence, came to practically the same conclusion. Today distinguished archaeologists, ethnologists and historians in every part of our country are agreed as to the Indian authorship of both.

VII.

Arrival of the Siouan and Algonquian Tribes in Wisconsin, The Winnebago the Authors of Wisconsin Effigy Mounds and Associated Earthworks, Concluding Remarks.

Arrival of the Siosan and Algonquain Tribes in Wisconsin.

What is perhaps the most generally accepted theory of the origin of the Siouan tribes has been given in a previous issue of this publication and need not therefore be repeated in full in these pages. It is supported mainly by linguistic evidence and the traditions of some of the tribes participating in the migrations, but yet requires the proof of archaeological evidence before it can be fully accepted.

It is to the effect that the ancestors of the present western Sioux at one time resided on the eastern side of the Alleghanies, in the region of Virginia and Carolina, from whence they crossed into the region of the Ohio valley. The cause of this change of location and early separation from other tribes of the same stock, who remained behind, is thought to have been due to the pressure of the surrounding Iroquoian tribes, or to other causes. After occupying this region for a long period of time, they appear to have gradually moved westward toward the Mississippi. Some of the migrating tribes passed up the Mississippi river to the mouth of the Missouri, and others down to the Arkansas, which streams they ascended.

The Winnebago and Dakota ascended the Mississippi and entered into the region now Wisconsin. It is thought that n their coming the former, who probably occupied more particularly the southern and eastern portion of this territory, were years in advance of the latter. Centuries elapsed between this time and the discovery of the Winnebago by Nicollet, in 1634. When first known to the French, the Dakota had their principal seats in northwestern Wisconsin, around and about the western end of Lake Superior and the head waters of the Mississippi, but claimed all the Wisconsin territory, from which

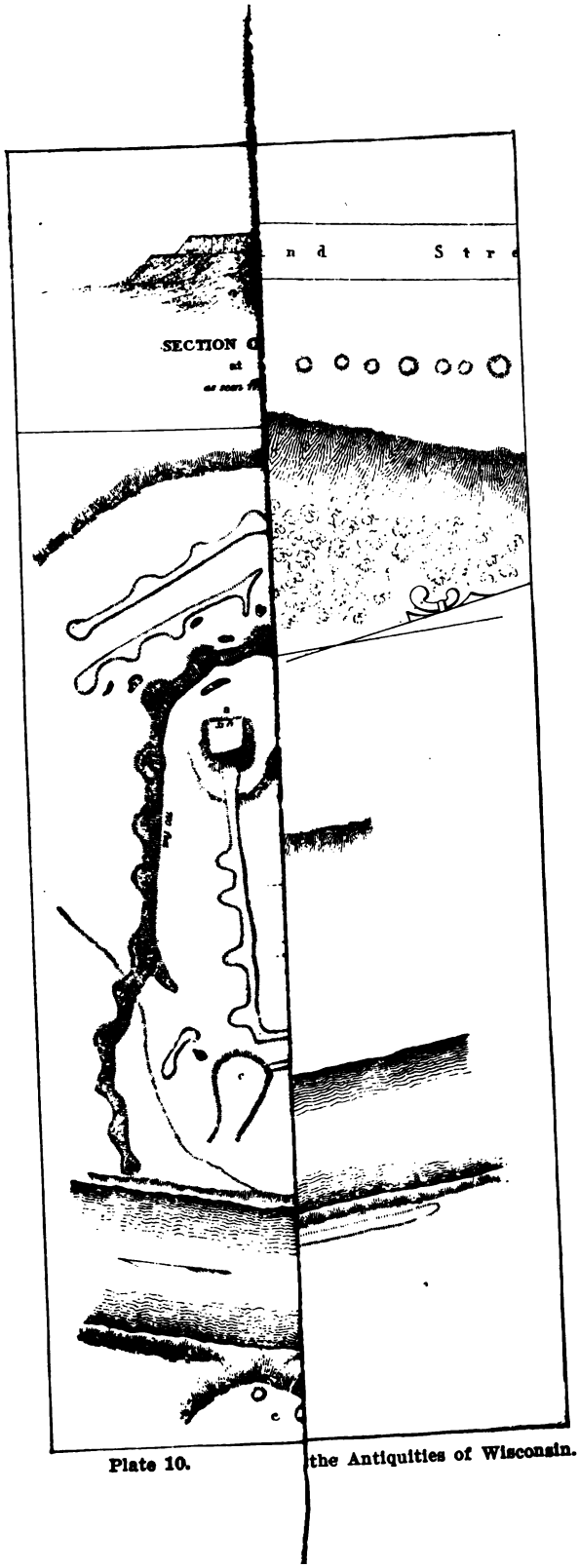


Plate 10. the Antiquities of Wisconsin.

they were later driven to the west by the intrusive Chippewa of Canada, aided by the French.

These various migrations are not so remote but that the Osage, Quapaw, Omaha, Mandan, Dakota and Winnebago have possessed reasonably clear traditions of former residence near the sea and in Ohio, and of their different movements to their later habitations. Dorsey is said to have found these traditions to be common to almost all the tribes of the Siouan stock.

These migrations doubtless consisted of a gradual movement toward the setting sun, and extended through many generations, as the earthworks along the lines of their advance would indicate.

Early historic reports prove beyond a reasonable doubt that the Winnebago and Dakota claimed and exercised jurisdiction over the territory now called Wisconsin, up to as late as the year 1670, and that their claims to the same were based on a more ancient occupancy.

Nicollet found the Pottawatomie on the islands of Green Bay in 1634. Seven years later, they were at Sault Ste. Marie, fleeing before the Dakota, who claimed the country as far east as the last named place. About 1670, the Hurons, who for twenty years had been wandering about the country south of and near Lake Superior, were expelled by the Dakota as intruders on their territory. Nearly seven years later, a small band of Ottawa located on the west slope of Lake Michigan and south of Green Bay, were accorded the same treatment at the hands of the Dakota. In 1825, the tribes of this district were called together at Prairie du Chien by the U. S. Government officials, that their differences might be settled by treaty. At this conference, the Dakota claimed all of the country from Lake Superior to Green Bay, on the ground that their ancestors owned it. This the Chippewa did not deny, but based their claim to the northern portion of Wisconsin on the theory of conquest and present occupancy.

Wisconsin soil appears to have been, for a considerable time, the common battle field of the Dakota and the Algonquian races. At just what time the latter began to encroach on the domains

of the former is not known, but it appears to have been as early as the year 1600. From a tradition of the Dakota, the Winnebago preceded them into Wisconsin, where they remained undisturbed for several centuries. The period of their occupancy was probably not to exceed 500 years before the dawn of history, which would allow them ample time to construct all the earthworks found here.

The Winnebago the Authors of Wisconsin's Effigy Mounds and Associated Earthworks.

That the tribes of the great Siouan family of Indians, wherever found, have been builders of conical mounds and other earthworks, within historic times, is well established. As has already been noted, Lapham early hinted that to some of the tribes of this stock future archaeologists must turn for information tending to establish the authorship of our prehistoric monuments.

The Winnebago are admitted to be one of the oldest branches of Siouan stock. Miss Alice Fletcher informs us that:

> "Not only is this antiquity shown by the language, but by the finding of many of the religious ceremonies of different tribes common to the Winnebago, and Winnebago words discovered in the religious ritual of other tribes."—Proc. A. A. A. S., 1883.

They call themselves Ho-tcan-ga-ra, "First of parent speech," and are occasionally referred to by some of the other closely related tribes as "grandfathers."

Their traditional migration brought them to Wisconsin in advance of any other tribe either Siouan or Algonquin, and here they established themselves. There is a lack of evidence that the Chippewa and other tribes of the latter stock, whose arrival in Wisconsin is so recent as to be almost a matter of history, were ever anywhere particularly, a mound building people.

That the Winnebago were the authors of the effigy mounds is a belief that appears to be quite well substantiated by the evidence thus far obtained, and is one that is supported by many of the most prominent archaeologists and historians of America. A few, however, do not hesitate to cast a doubt on the hypothesis, without being able to suggest a better one.

Hon. J. V. Brower, whose valuable labors in the field of Minnesota archaeology and history are well known, says:

"The hopes, desires and beliefs concerning a great nation of ancient mound-builders in the Northwest who preceded by long ages of time the first appearance here of Sioux Indians, have been shattered and abandoned. Critical and determined inquiries in the field and the library of this society (Minnesota Historical Society), have resulted in an unwelcome determination, based on scientific facts, that no such nation preceded the advent of the Isanti, m'de Wakan, Ihankton and Teton bands on the headwaters of the Mississippi.

"All of those Dakota Indians, with the additional organizations which constituted the aggregation of the Seven Council Fires, originated from the migratory and disorganized element which left the effigy mound locality in Wisconsin to seek their liberties and follow their pursuits in a land of promise. They carried with them full knowledge of the construction of mounds, embankments, imitative figures and hieroglyphics."—Kathio, 128.

He also makes the statement that:

"Copper implements and ornaments, and gunflint objects of ancient Indian origin found in Wisconsin, near the profuse groups of effigy mounds advantageously chartered by Lapham, are the same in all essential particulars as those observed in Northern Minnesota, and we are now compelled to admit that archaeologic explorations and history convincingly prove that fact, even to the acquiescing in the statement of the Winnebago Indians that they were 'Hotcangary,' meaning first of parent speech."—Kathio, 126.

As will hereafter be shown, other leading archaeologists and historians of Minnesota agree with Brower in his conclusions.

In an article entitled "Symbolic Earth Formations of the Winnebagoes," Miss Alice Fletcher, who has had the opportunity of studying the ceremonies of the Winnebago, on their Nebraska reservation, describes their buffalo dance, which is given four times in the month of May and early June.

"The dancers are four men and a large number of women. As the dancers enter the enclosure, each woman brings in a handful of fine earth, and in this way two mounds are raised in the center, at the east, that is between the eastern entrance and the fire, which is about fifteen feet from the eastern entrance. The mounds thus formed are truncated cones. An old man said to me: 'That is the way all mounds were built; that is why we build so for the Buffalo.' The mounds were about four inches high and not far from eighteen inches in diameter. On top of the two mounds were placed the head-gear worn by the men, the claws, tails and other articles used by the four leaders, or male dancers. * * * The two mounds remind one of larger structures and suggest many speculations, particularly when taken in connection with their manner of building. * * * In the great mystery lodge—Just as that part of the initiation of the candidate where he is to fall dead to the old life, be covered as with a pall, and then be

raised to the new life, the remains of the four fire sticks are taken away and the ashes raisd in a sharp conical mound, again suggesting hints of a peculiar past."—16 Rep.., Peabody Museum.

The long lines of connected mounds peculiar to this district, the effigies and other works so commonly incorporated with them in the same system, have led Dr. Cyrus Thomas to the conclusion that they are attributable to one or more tribes of the Siouan stock:

"The custom of placing the small tumuli in lines connected and disconnected to form the long wall-like mounds, seems to have been peculiar to the builders of the effigies. Following up this hint and tracing the transitions in form from what appears to be the more ancient to the more recent type, we are led to the comparatively modern surface figures of the Siouan tribes. * * * It is not only possible, but apparently evident, that there are many mounds in the northwestern section of which we are now speaking that were built by other tribes, but there is no longer any substantial reason for denying that the effigies and other works pertaining thereto are due to the Siouan tribes."—B. E., 12, 709.

Brower satisfied himself that the Dakota were the authors of at least one effigy mound in Minnesota.

"Carver, Williamson, and many other writers have described Sioux hieroglyphics, boulder circles, and effigies. There is no doubt whatever concerning the proved fact that the Dakota bands constructed numerous boulder outlines. Also the fact that an effigy mound is in existence in the Pillager mound group, which contains original Sioux interments, constitutes a substantial source of information that the Indians were originally builders of effigy mounds; but the custom fell into disuse by the time they became buffalo-hunters, and disappeared entirely when they were made dependent upon traffic with the early fur traders."—Brower, Kathio, 124.

Dr. W. C. Hoffman, the government ethnologist, the excellence of whose work is well known, says in a recent report:

"The Ojibwa of Wisconsin, as well as of Minnesota, allege, however, that they do not know who built these (burial and imitative) mounds; but they generally attribute them to the Dakota, who, they claim, were the first occupants of the country.—B. E., v. 14, 38.

Several Winnebago traditions and legends bearing on the matter of the origin and purpose of certain Wisconsin mounds have already been noted in a preceding chapter.

That the early historic Winnebago villages, throughout Wisconsin, were almost invariably found to be located in the midst of or adjacent to large groups of effigy and other mounds, is a significant fact. Doty's Island, Aztalan, Beloit, Lake Kosh-

konong and Lake Puckaway may be mentioned in this connection. At Lake Puckaway as well as at other places in the state history informs us that they even continued in late historic times to make use of some of the nearby mounds as burial places. (See Antiquities of Wisconsin, 59, 63.)

A. B. Stout informs us, on the authority of W. H. Canfield, that Calimine (Karraymaunee), a Winnebago chief, had his village and council house (in 1832) in the midst of a group of effigy mounds, in what is now the city of Baraboo, in Sauk county. (W. A., v. 5, 254.)

It is not the desire of the author that the reader shall infer from the foregoing that these mounds were erected by the same Winnebago bands who occupied these sites at various times during the historic period, especially since the prehistoric origin of the surrounding effigy and burial mounds is unquestioned. It would appear, however, by the very frequent selection of these sites by the later Indians for their villages, that these ancient earthworks yet possessed a certain attraction for them, centuries after the custom of erecting them had ceased. We know that other Wisconsin Indians have in recent times selected the mounds for burial places, but to none of these, the author believes, was this practice so common as to the Winnebago.

R. C. Taylor was probably the first to suggest that the effigy mounds were the clan totems or emblems of the former inhabitants of the particular localities in which they occurred. His theory Dr. S. D. Peet has followed and elaborated, believing them to be clan totems, and tribal and religious symbols. He mentions that:

"The Dakotas (including the Winnebago) were in the habit of embodying their totems in this way, as no other tribes did. They not only painted them upon the tents, inscribed them upon the rocks, but built stone effigies which should represent them, and we suppose that in Wisconsin they used the earth to perpetuate their totem system."—Preh. Am. v. 2, 346.

He explains the manner followed by cerain present day Indian tribes in expressing their totems and other symbols; the Siouan tribes painting animal and other figures on their tents, on skins, bark or wood, depicting them upon their wearing apparel or showing their clan relationship in the manner of wear-

ing their hair; the Chippewa carving their totems on pieces of wood, and the northwest coast tribes tattooing theirs on their faces, and carving them on their totem poles and canoes.

His conclusion that the effigy mounds are clan and tribal totems, and others religious symbols of the early Indian occupants of this region, is reasonable, and is now quite generally accepted. His attempt to compare the animal figures represented, with the known totems of the Dakota, Winnebago and other resident and related tribes, and to locate by the same means the clan habitats of the effigy builders, has not been successful because of the difficulty of determining with any degree of certainty the identity of many of the imitative earthworks.

He maintains that both their history and such traditions of their migrations, etc., as we now possess plainly indicate that the effigy mound region in Wisconsin is identical with the ancient seat of the Winnebago (including the Dakota), and that this taken together with a knowledge of the general similarity of their customs and arts, plainly indicates that their ancestors were the builders of the effigy and associated earth works. The Algonquian tribes have no claim upon them.

Dr. Frederick Starr, of the University of Chicago, in discussing the authorship of the effigy mounds with the author, suggested that the designs used by the Winnebago were usually in conventional forms, such as animals or birds, while those of the Algonquain stock were generally in geometric figures. He mentioned a beaded belt containing the figure of an eagle, which he purchased from some Fox Indians in Iowa, and who at once informed him that it was of Winnebago authorship.

The fondness of the Winnebago for introducing animal figures into their bead and quill work is well known, and is suggestive. Both the Chippewa, and the Menominee, (whose designs are said to have been borrowed from the Chippewa), rarely, if ever, make use of other than flower and geometrical patterns.

That the Winnebago were the builders of the Wisconsin effigy mounds is a hypothesis receiving favorable consideration from many of the foremost students of America, is indicated by the following extracts from letters to the author. W. J. McGee, LL. D., director of the St. Louis Museum, writes:

"I do not know whether or not they were built by the Winnebago Indians—neither does anybody else; yet the hypothesis is not only a sane and healthful one, but one that may yet be tested by systematic inquiry among the surviving Winnebago tribesmen; and a sane hypothesis that can be tested is a most useful possession in science, provided it be tested. Of course, pending the test it would, as you justly say, be 'unsafe and unscientific' to promulgate the hypothesis except as a hypothesis; but the view is in line with the progress of knowledge concerning effigy mounds. Lapham was imbued with the idea of his time as to the high antiquity of our mounds; Butler saw the large really primitive culture represented in the copper implements; while Thomas brought the mound-building of Wisconsin and neighboring states well into the domain of relatively recent tribal custom. My own judgment (based chiefly on original work in the region along the Iowa side of the Mississippi) is that the mound-groups, characteristic of the region, are in part tumuli and in part ceremonial works, these including the probably totemic effigy mounds; and I incline to think that all were built by the same, or culturally related, tribes, presumably the immediate ancestors of those found in the region by white settlers. This view, I think, summarizes all researches to date, and is in no way inconsistent with your interesting hypothesis that the builders, at least on the Wisconsin side, were Winnebago Indians—indeed nothing remains to establish your hypothesis except through systematic inquiry among the surviving Winnebago Indians as may still possess their tribal traditions."—Jan. 21, 1907.

Dr. Frederick Starr, writes:

"It is my opinion that the effigy mounds of Wisconsin were built by the Winnebagoes. I have not time nor opportunity, on this occasion, to write you fully in the matter."—Jan. 8, 1907.

Mr. James Mooney, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, in reply to a letter, says:

"My work deals with the ethnology of the living Indians and their immediate historic ancestors. Not being an archaeologist, I have no expert knowledge of the mound subject and possibly for the same reason have no first theory. So far as known, the effigy mounds with a few notable exceptions, are confined to southern Wisconsin and to the immediate contiguous sections of the adjoining states of Minnesota, Iowa and Illinois. They are closely associated with 'wall mounds' and 'chain mounds,' belonging apparently to the same period, and with small circular mounds, apparently of a more recent period, in whole or in part, the supposition being based upon the presence of objects of civilized manufacture in the circular mounds only. The tribe found in principal occupancy of this region, when first known, was the Winnebago, from which the Iowa, Missouri, Omaha, etc. have remote decent, all of which constitute one branch of the Siouan stock. Within the historic period, the Iowa and Oto lived in eastern Minnesota and Iowa, from which region they and the kindred Sioux have been forced southwest and west, and the Algonquian tribes advancing from the east. All this is since 1700. The Siouan tribes have come from the east and preceded the Algonquian tribes in the upper Mississippi region. * * * The probability, although not the certainty, is that the effigy

and associated mounds were built by the Winnebago and closely cognate tribes before the advent of the whites or the invasion of the Algonquian tribes, and that many of the small circular mounds in the same region were built by the Winnebago after the beginning of white contact. Any attempted explanation of symbolism or clan significance in this connection is entirely worthless waste of effort."—Jan. 16, 1907.

Mr. Clarke McAdams, the well known archaeologist, addresses the author from St Louis, as follows:

"I have just read before the Illinois Historical Society a paper upon the archaeology of that state, in which I divided the prehistoric occupation into two principal epochs—the earlier one, in which the Indians chiefly derived their subsistence from agriculture, and the later one, in which they became, to a greater extent, a hunting people. To the first epoch I ascribe such pretentious ruins as those in the American Bottom, opposite St. Louis, and to the second, the most of the more unpretentious structures, such as the numerous burial mounds along the Illinois river. If the buffalo spread from the western prairies into the country east of the Mississippi, as it seems we have reason to believe they did, at a time when the Indians were an agricultural people living in the communal relation and large villages consequent upon extensive agriculture, it is quite easy to understand how their mode of life could have been changed by such an influence and how they would have ceased to engage in the great structural works of the sedentary period. I cannot believe the effigies of Wisconsin as the work of the Indians in this first epoch, but rather of the second, which seems to be borne out by the frequency with which these effigies appear. I should say, then, that they were made by the Siouan peoples at about the time they were engaged in that westward movement, which eventually extended their range into the upper prairies traversed by the Missouri. The facts that these effigies are almost wholly confined to the southern end of Wisconsin, and that there is a significant similarity in the mosaics and occasional lesser effigies in the region of the Dakotas, seem to strengthen this theory. The immediate period in which they were made probably covered a lapse of a few hundred years, and I should say that the Indians found in the effigy district of Wisconsin by the first European explorers were the descendants of the people who built the mounds."—Feb. 3, 1907.

Gen. Gates P. Thruston, of Nashville, author of the "Antiquities of Tennessee," and of other valuable contributions, writes:

"I believe that the ancestors of the historic Indians of the north, immediate or remote, (perhaps the Winnebagoes) built the effigy mounds of Wisconsin. The builders of the mounds of the Mississippi, Ohio and Cumberland valleys, the so-called 'mound-builders,' were quite certainly 'Indians' also, but in the scale of civilization, their culture in some sections must grade above that of the historic tribes and equals that of the higher type of Indians, like the Pueblo builders, for instance."—Jan. 30, 1907.

Plate 11.

AZTALAN "BRICKETS."

Mr. Warren Upham, Secretary of the State Historical Society of Minnesota, writes the author in substance:

"The peoples who were builders of mounds and earthworks, are the Cherokee of undoubted Iroquoian linquistic affinity, and peoples of the Siouan linquistic stock and by tracing their traditional migrations we have them, taken together, well covering the area in which mounds and earth-works are found in the United States. I have no evidence from which I can even surmise whether the building of earthworks was an original cultural developement of each, the Cherokee and Siouan, or whether it may have been original with the Siouan and borrowed from them by the Cherokee, or *vice versa*. Any one of the three hypothesis, it seems to me, is sufficient to account for the geographic distribution of mounds and earth-works in the area of such as given by Dr. Thomas in the 12th Ann. Rept. of the Bureau of Ethnology. I further surmise, regarding the builders of the effigy mounds of Wisconsin and the other earth-works there, which surmise seems to me perfectly in harmony with possibility, that the older earth-works, including the effigy mounds, were built by the Cherokee peoples, in the eastward migration, while the later earth-works were built by the Siouan peoples in their westward migration. Though I wish to leave in mind the above mentioned three hypothesis."—Dec. 17, 1906.

Dr. H. N. Winchell, archaeologist of the Minnesota Historical Society, expresses the belief that after the Wisconsin glacial epoch, the Dakotas migrated from the southeast Atlantic coast, settled in the Ohio valley, became the "mound-builders" of that region, the Winnebago coming probably a little earlier became the effigy builders of the upper Mississippi valley. They are called "grand fathers" by the other Dakota tribes, and wherever characteristic mounds may be found in the northwest, they are to be attributed either to the early Winnebago and their friends, or to the returned Dakota tribes after the great war between them and the early Algonquian tribes.—Letter, July 2, 1907.

Miss Alice Fletcher states:

"As to the mounds of Wisconsin, I do not feel myself competent to speak of their builders with assurance. That the Winnebagoes built earth-figures ceremonially, I have myself seen during some of their ceremonials. I have, however, never seen these in the form of effigies. Symbolic designs, made on the ground, was not uncommon among tribes of the Siouan linquistic stock."—March 11, 1907.

Mr. Henry E. Legler, author of "Leading Events of Wisconsin History," says:

"It seems to me quite well established that the Winnebago were an offshoot of the Dakota, and that many, if not all the emblematic mounds of our state, were the product of these people."—Dec. 15, 1906.

Extracts from other communications which indicate a similar trend of study and thought, might be quoted.

Concluding Remarks.

The ultimate conclusions of the divisions of the subjects treated in this paper, may be briefly stated as follows:

1. The entrance of the principal mound-builders into Wisconsin appears to have been from the south and southwest. Other tribes, who erected some of the more recent conical tumuli, entered from the north and east.

2. The effigy mounds and other earthworks closely associated with them were erected during the same priod, and by the same tribe or culturally related tribes.

3. No information that we now possess concerning the earthworks of our state justifies the conclusion that they are uniformly of great antiquity. The evidence is plain that of the burial mounds some were erected in early historic times. The date of the erection of the oldest mound groups may safely be placed at not to exceed three centuries previous to the discovery of America by Columbus.

4. The enclosure and closely associated works at Aztalan are the remains of an Indian village. None of the Wisconsin earth-works were built for purely religious, and none for sacrificial purposes. Cremation was not a usual practice, but the use of fire in burial ceremonies was a common custom among our ancient Indians.

5. The mounds explored give conclusive proof that the culture status of their authors was practically the same as that of the early historic tribes. Their social conditions, domestic and burial customs are not found to differ. They alike lived in villages, manufactured such implements as their manner of life required, depended for subsistence on agriculture and the chase; carried on a traffic with distant tribes, understood the art of war and defense and used the streams as their principal highways.

6. That the Wisconsin earthworks were erected by the Indians is now so well established as to scarcely admit of argument. That the authors of the effigy mounds were of Siouan

stock, probably the Winnebago, is a hypothesis that appears to be well founded. The author predicts that it will be accepted as an undisputed fact, within the present generation.

7. From the evidence at hand, the occupation of Wisconsin soil can be classed in but two principal periods. The first being the effigy mound-building era, during which all classes of earthworks were constructed; second, the time elapsing since the custom of erecting imitative earthworks ceased.

8. The principal and original aboriginal copper miners were Wisconsin Indians, most probably the Winnebago. The working of the Lake Superior copper mines was not begun until a century or more after the advent of this tribe in Wisconsin, and copper mining ceased when it became unnecessary by reason of the importation of European goods.

APPENDIX.

EXPLANATION OF REFERENCE NOTES.

Adair—Adair: History of the American Indians, (London, 1775).
Allouez—Father Allouez: Jesuit Relations, 1666-67.
Atwater—Caleb Atwater: A Description of the Antiq. of Ohio, (1820).
Bartrams—William and John Bartram: Travels through the Southern States, (1791).
Baldwin—J. B. Baldwin: Ancient America, (New York, 1872).
Bancroft—H. H. Bancroft: Native Races of the Pacific Coast, (N. Y. 1875).
Bernard—Bernard: East and West Florida.
Blake—Blake: Annals of Science, edited by H. L. Smith.
Bosson—Bosson: Travels through Louisiana, (London, 1771).
Brinton—D. G. Brinton: Notes on the Florida Peninsula, (1859).
Brinton, Mounds—D. G. Brinton: Nationality of Mound Building.
Brower—J. V. Brower: Prehistoric Man at the Head waters of the Mississippi, Kathio.
Butler—Butler: American Antiquities.
Canfield—W. H. Canfield: Outline sketches of Sauk County, (Baraboo, 1861).
Carr—Mounds—Lucien Carr: Mounds of the Mississippi Valley Historically Considered, (Cincinnati, 1883).
Cartier—Jacques Cartier: Harkluyt's Voyages, (London, 1810).
Carver—Jonathan Carver: Travels in North America.
Catlin—George Catlin: Illustrations of the Manners and Customs and Conditions of the N. A. Indians, (London, 1848).
Charlevoix—Charlevoix: Letters published in 1763.
Champlain—Champlain: League of the Iroquois, (1851).
Chronicles—De Soto: 10th Peabody Report, Cambridge.
Conant—A. J. Conant: Foot-prints of Vanished Races, (St. Louis, 1873).
Culbertson—T. A. Culbertson's Journal, in 5 Ann. Rep., Sm. Inst.
Dablon—Jesuit Relations, 1669-70.
De Vries—De Vries: Voyages, 1642, (New York, 1853).
Drake—Drake: Indians of North America.
Drake—Drake: Our Indian Wards, Cincinnati, (1880).
Du Pratz—Du Pratz: History of Louisiana, (London, 1763).
Featherstonehaugh—G. W. Featherstonehaugh: Excursion through the Slave States.
Fletcher—Alice Fletcher: In Sm. Contr., 1897.
Fletcher—Alice Fletcher: Symbolic Earth Formations of the Winnebagoes, in 16 Rep. Peab. Mus.
Fletcher, Omahas—Alice Fletcher: Tribal Life among the Omahas, Century Magazine, Jan., 1896.

Force, Mounds—M. F. Force: Some Consideration on the Mound Builders, Cincinnati, (1873).
Foster—J. W. Foster: Prehistoric Races of the U. S., (Chicago, 1873).
Fowke, Ohio—Gerard Fowke: Archaeological History of Ohio, (Columbus, 1902.
Fowke, Montezuma—Gerard Fowke: Montezuma Mounds, Mo. Hist. Colls., 1905.
Franklin—Franklin: American Magazine, 1787, American Museum.
Gale—George Gale: The Upper Mississippi, (1867).
Garcilasso—Garcilasso: History of Florida.
Handbook of American Indians: Bull. 30, B. E.
Harkluyt—Harkluyt: Cartier's Voyage, (1535).
Hariot—Hariot: Harkluyt, Voyages, (London, 1810).
Haven—S. F. Haven: Archaeology of the U. S. 8 Sm. Contr.
Hennepin—Hennepin: Voyage into a Newly Discovered Country, (London, 1698).
Hoffman—W. J. Hoffman: Menomonie Indians, 14 Rep., B. E.
Holmes—W. H. Holmes: 15 Rep., B. E.
Hoy, Mounds—Dr. P. R. Hoy: Who Built the Mounds? (Racine, 1886).
Hudson—Henry Hudson: De Lart, Discovery of New Netherland.
Indian Wards—Geo. W. Manypenny: Indian Wards, (Cincinnati, 1880).
James—James: Narrative.
Jamison—Life of Mary Jamison, a Captive among the Iroquois, (N. Y. 1856).
Jones—C. C. Jones: Antiquities of the Southern Indians, (N. Y. 1873).
Kerr—Prof. Kerr: North Carolina.
Lafitau—Lafitau: Mocurs des Sauvages Ameriquanins, (Paris, 1724).
La Hontan—La Hontan: Voyages, (London, 1703).
Lapham—Dr. I. A. Lapham: Antiquities of Wisconsin, (1855).
Lawson—Publius V. Lawson: Summary of the Archaeology of Winnebago County, in 2 Wis. Archeo.
Legler—Henry E. Legler: Leading Events of Wisconsin History, (1898).
Lewis—T. H. Lewis: American Anthropologist, (1889).
Lewis—T. H. Lewis: Enclosures, in 16 Am. Antig., 357-60.
L. & C.—Lewis and Clarke: Travels, (Philadelphia, 1814).
Long—Major Stephen H. Long: Expedition to the Rocky Mountains, in 1819-20.
Marquette—Father Marquette: Relation, 1670.
Mason—E. G. Mason: Old Fort Chartres, Fergus History of Series No. 12.
McGuire—J. D. McGuire: Pipes and Smoking Customs of the American Aborigines, in Nat. Mus. Rep., 1897.
McGee—W. J. McGee: The Siouan Indians, in 15 B. E., 1893-94.
Membré—Father Membré: Relation en C'annee, (1670).
Memoir—Memoir of the Sieur de Tonti, in Hist. Coll. La.
Mills—Dr. William C. Mills: Certain Mounds and Village Sites in Ohio, Explorations of the Baum Village Site, 1907.
Minnesota—Minnesota Historical Collections.
Moore, Duval—Clarence B. Moore: Certain River Mounds of Duval Co., Florida.
Moorehead—W. K. Moorhead: Primitive Man in Ohio.

Moorehead, Mounds—W. K. Moorehead: Account of Exploration of the Hopewell Groups, in Antiq. 1 and 11, May, 1877 to Jan., 1898.
Moulton—Yates & Moulton: History of New York, (N. Y. 1824).
Packard—R. L. Packard: Pre-Columbian Copper Mining in North America, in Sm. Rep., 1892.
Parkman—Francis Parkman: The Jesuits in North America, (Boston, 1867).
Peck—J. M. Peck: A. Gazetteer of Illinois, (1837).
Peet—S. D. Peet: American Antiquarian.
Peet, Prehistoric America—S. D. Peet: 2 Prehistoric America, (1892).
Perrot—Perrot's Memorie, 1671-72.
Peterson—C. A. Peterson: The Mound Building Age in North America, (St. Louis, 1902).
Rau—Charles Rau: Sm. Contr. to Knowledge, (1886).
Relation—Father Marquette: Jesuit Relations, 1718.
Relation letter—Letter dated La Boye, Aug. 30th, 1728, by Lignery.
Relation, 1640—Bacqueville de La Potherie.
Relation, 1670—en C'annee, 1670.
Relation, 1656—Perrot, 1656-62.
Salisbury—R. D. Salisbury: Notes on the Dispersion of Drift Copper, VI. Trans. Wis. Acad. Sci.
Schoolcraft—H. R. Schoolcraft: Travels in the Mississippi Valley.
Segard—Abe Segard: Voyages des Hurons, (Paris, 1632).
Shea—J. G. Shea: Early Voyages up and Down the Mississippi, (N. Y. 1852).
Short—John T. Short: North Americans of Antiquity.
Sivier—Gov. Sivier: Letter in Stoddard's Sketches of La., (Philadelphia, 1812).
Squier, Mts.—E. G. Squier: Ancient Monuments of New York.
Stout—A. B. Stout: Summary of the Archaeology of Sauk Co., Wis., in 5, Wis. Archeo.
Thomas, Explorations—Cyrus Thomas: Report of the Mound Explorations of the Bureau, in 12 Ann. Rep., B. E.
Thomas, Problem—Cyrus Thomas: The Problem of the Ohio Mounds, in Bull. 8, B. E.
Thomas, Introduction—Cyrus Thomas: Introduction to the Study of North American Archaeology, 1898.
Thruston, Tennessee—Gen. Gates P. Thruston: Antiquities of Tennessee.
Trumbull—Trumbull, Connecticut.
Upham—Warren Upham: American Antiquarian.
Wentworth—T. P. Wentworth: Early Life Among the Indians, (Ashland, 1892).
Whittlesey—Chas. Whittlesey: Ancient Mining on the Shore of Lake Superior, in 13 Sm. Contr.
Wilson—Dr. Daniel Wilson: Prehistoric Man.
Winchell—N. H. Winchell, Popular Science News, Sept., 1881.
Wis. Archeo.—Wisconsin Archeologist.
Wis. Hist. Colls.—Wisconsin Historical Collections.

Your Aid Is Desired

The Wisconsin Archaeological Society is endeavoring to awaken a live interest in the great historical and educational value of Wisconsin's antiquities. It is encouraging the preservation of representative groups of Wisconsin mounds, is conducting surveys and researches, and assisting in the establishment of archaeological collections in the educational institutions of our state.

Become a Member of the State Society and Encourage the Work Now in Progress

Its worthy and very necessary labors deserve the full support of all intelligent and public spirited citizens. No one desires that the antiquities of our state shall be [illegible] [illegible] of their location and character [illegible] [illegible].

The [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]. It wants three [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and survey funds are needed.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and specimens will be thankfully [illegible].

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] membership, $5.00, [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

THE WISCONSIN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible], WISCONSIN.

TANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVE
IVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRA
RD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY
SITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
ES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
RARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STAN
TANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVE

VERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBR
[redacted]
RARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STAN
Stanford University Libraries
3 6105 003 662 389
TY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · S
ES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD
RD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES · STANFORD UNIVERSITY
NFORD UNIVE
VERSITY LIBR
RARIES · STA
TY LIBRARIES · S
ES · STANFORD U
RD UNIVERSITY L
NFORD UNIVE
VERSITY LIBR

STANFORD UNIVERSITY LIBRARIES
STANFORD AUXILIARY LIBRARY
STANFORD, CALIFORNIA 94305-6004
(415) 723-9201
All books may be recalled after 7 days

DATE DUE